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EASTERN

F.O.
371

1947

PALESTINE

File No. 46

pp. 11294 - 11715

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References: **FO 371/61796**

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E 11294/46/31

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Reference:-

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<p>192 1947</p>	<p>Palestine EASTERN</p>	<p>E11310 / G DEC 1947</p>
<p>E11310/46/C F.O. file Sir E. Nathan Dated 25 Nov Received 1 Dec</p>	<p>Palestine: Conversation between Soss and Mr Marshall</p>	
<p>Last Paper E11309</p>	<p>(Minutes)</p> <p><i>Fable</i> (TELETYPE) 3/12</p>	
<p>References</p>	<p>A talk out tel. See E11069/46/C J B Dec. 3</p>	
<p>(Print) PRINTED.</p>		
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<p>(Action completed) 25 4/12</p>	<p>(Index) <i>W.H.</i></p>	
<p>Next Paper</p>		

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F46 E11310 enter 3

Note of Discussion between the Secretary of State
and Mr. Marshall on 24th November, 1947.

There were also present the Minister of Defense, the American Ambassador and Sir Edmund Hall-Ratch.

Palestine.

The Secretary of State referred to the most recent developments at the United Nations, particularly the latest intervention of Mr. Herschel Johnson in the Palestine Committee.

The Secretary of State read from telegram No. 3519 from the United Kingdom Delegation New York as follows:

A. Mr. Herschel Johnson had apparently accused His Majesty's Government of adopting an unhelpful attitude and of doing nothing to bridge the gap relating to enforcement in the partition plan.

B. He had stated that the United States Delegation would not understand abstentions when the vote was taken.

The Secretary of State went on to say that there were indications of an American attempt to stampee the Assembly both by pressure and by constant suggestion that when the time came His Majesty's Government would not be able to avoid active co-operation with the United Nations Commission.

The Secretary of State outlined briefly recent developments in connexion with Palestine and explained the grave difficulties with which we had been faced and his disappointment at many turns in American policy. It seemed to him that this great issue had been handled more with the electoral situation in New York City in mind than the large issues of foreign policy which were involved. He wished to warn Mr. Marshall that anti-Semitism was growing in this country and that feelings ran high in the House of Commons. This situation had been brought to a head by the callous murder of the two British sergeants. Up to that time the Secretary of State had felt that the situation in Palestine might have been held, but since then the position had entirely changed. His Majesty's Government had taken the decision that they would withdraw from Palestine and, as regards the vote to be cast at the United Nations, he had already given instructions that the United Kingdom Delegation was to abstain.

The Secretary of State said that he was distressed at the way events were taking and he thought it deplorable that the United Kingdom were again being held up to ignominious abuse.

Mr. Marshall said that he realised fully that in many respects the United Kingdom had not been fairly treated in respect of Palestine. As far as he was concerned, he had inherited a policy from his predecessors which he had had no part in formulating. He had, nevertheless, spoken in very strong terms to the Jews and left them in no doubt whatever of his attitude to their present activities. He had also made it clear to the Arabs that he would not give way to any blackmailing tactics on their part.

Mr. Marshall, however, wished to take strong exception to the final point made by the Secretary of State. There was no intention on his part of making things more difficult for

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the United Kingdom and he disliked that suggestion. What he sought to do was to reach if possible an orderly settlement. There had been satisfactory discussions about the Middle East as a whole. Palestine was an essential part of the Middle East and unless a satisfactory settlement was reached there, any common policy in the Middle East would be much more difficult to achieve.

Mr. Douglas asked whether there was any evidence that the Jews who were being collected from Eastern Europe with a view to being smuggled into Palestine were indoctrinated Communists.

The Secretary of State replied that his information was to this effect.

Mr. Douglas pressed this point again and received the same reply.

The Secretary of State said he hoped that Mr. Marshall would be able to review the situation in the light of the explanations which he had given and that it would be possible for him to restrain Mr. Herschel Johnson from increasing our difficulties in that area.

(Signed) E. L. Hall-Patch.

25th November, 1947.

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SECRET

Copy No. 8

**NOTE OF DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND
MR. MARSHALL ON 24th NOVEMBER, 1947**

There were also present the Minister of Defence, the American Ambassador and Sir Edmund Hall-Patch.

Palestine

The Secretary of State referred to the most recent developments at the United Nations, particularly the latest intervention of Mr. Herschel Johnson in the Palestine Committee.

The Secretary of State read from telegram No. 3519 from the United Kingdom delegation, New York, as follows:—

A. Mr. Herschel Johnson had apparently accused His Majesty's Government of adopting an unhelpful attitude and of doing nothing to bridge the gap relating to enforcement in the partition plan.

B. He had stated that the United States delegation would not understand abstentions when the vote was taken.

The Secretary of State went on to say that there were indications of an American attempt to stampede the Assembly both by pressure and by constant suggestion that when the time comes His Majesty's Government would not be able to avoid active co-operation with the United Nations Commission.

The Secretary of State outlined briefly recent developments in connexion with Palestine and explained the grave difficulties with which we had been faced and his disappointment at many turns in American policy. It seemed to him that this great issue had been handled more with the electoral situation in New York City in mind than the large issues of foreign policy which were involved. He wished to warn Mr. Marshall that anti-Semitism was growing in this country and that feelings ran high in the House of Commons. This situation had been brought to a head by the callous murder of the two British sergeants. Up to that time the Secretary of State had felt that the situation in Palestine might have been held, but since then the position had entirely changed. His Majesty's Government had taken the decision that they would withdraw from Palestine and, as regards the vote to be cast at the United

Nations, he had already given instructions that the United Kingdom delegation was to abstain.

The Secretary of State said that he was distressed at the turn events were taking and he thought it deplorable that the United Kingdom were again being held up to ignominious abuse.

Mr. Marshall said that he realised fully that in many respects the United Kingdom had not been fairly treated in respect of Palestine. As far as he was concerned, he had inherited a policy from his predecessors which he had had no part in formulating. He had, nevertheless, spoken in very strong terms to the Jews and left them in no doubt whatever of his attitude to their present activities. He had also made it clear to the Arabs that he would not give way to any blackmailing tactics on their part.

Mr. Marshall, however, wished to take strong exception to the final point made by the Secretary of State. There was no intention on his part of making things more difficult for the United Kingdom and he disliked that suggestion. What he sought to do was to reach, if possible, an orderly settlement. There had been satisfactory discussions about the Middle East as a whole. Palestine was an essential part of the Middle East and, unless a satisfactory settlement was reached there, any common policy in the Middle East would be much more difficult to achieve.

Mr. Douglas asked whether there was any evidence that the Jews who were being collected from Eastern Europe with a view to being smuggled into Palestine were indoctrinated Communists.

The Secretary of State replied that his information was to this effect.

Mr. Douglas pressed this point again and received the same reply.

The Secretary of State said he hoped that Mr. Marshall would be able to review the situation in the light of the explanations which he had given and that it would be possible for him to restrain Mr. Herschel Johnson from increasing our difficulties in Palestine.

E. L. HALL-PATCH.

25th November, 1947

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1947 193 31	Palestine EASTERN	E11342 / G 2 Dec 1947
E11342/46/C W'lon 6433 Dated 1 Dec Received 2 Dec.	Policy to Palestine	
Last Paper. E11310	(Minutes.)	
References. E11146/46/C.	<p>It would certainly seem that there will have to be some flexibility on each side in our negotiations with the United Nations' Commission. It is hoped to send Sir Alexander Cadogan final instructions after tomorrow's Cabinet and negotiations will certainly have to take place in New York rather than at Washington.</p> <p>I submit a draft reply, in which Co. Comm. A recent tel. from the Hc. Jerusalem reluctantly agrees that we cannot have the Comm. in Palestine before May.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>J. G. S. Beith</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">(J. G. S. Beith) 3rd December, 1947.</p>	
(Print.)	<p>We have now sent instructions to N. York which override this.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">* JASB 7.12</p>	
(How disposed of.)		
(Action completed.) 25/9/12	(Index.) upH	
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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Lord Inverchapel, D: 2.16 p.m. 1st December, 1947
No. 6753
1st December, 1947. R: 7.22 p.m. 1st December, 1947.

Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York.

IMMEDIATE.
TOP SECRET.

E11342

Addressed to Foreign Office No. 6753 1st December, repeated United Kingdom Delegation New York.

Your telegram No. 4156 to New York; Palestine.

Loy Henderson states that on receipt of Mr. Marshall's telegram last week instructions were at once sent to United States Delegation at New York to cooperate with our delegation on this matter. It was his impression that the two delegations had already been in touch. United States Delegation had expected Sir A. Cadogan to make some reference to this question before the Assembly ended and in that event would have been ready to support him to the best of their ability. But United States Government did not feel able to take initiative in the matter so long as His Majesty's Government had not themselves explained the difficulties which they foresaw either to the Assembly or to the Commission itself. Moreover, while the United States Government were anxious to help us in any way possible "now that the die was cast", the United States Delegation as well as the United Nations experts in the State Department felt that some flexibility might be desirable as regards the date of May 1st. Would it for instance be possible for us to agree that the Commission should arrive in Palestine before then for preliminary consultation with British authorities but should not (repeat not) begin to exercise its functions until after that date?

2. It would seem best that matter should now be pursued in New York.

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12 DEC 1947

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Top Secret
Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC SECRET

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK
(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)
No. 4156
29th November, 1947. D. 9.15 p.m. 29th November, 1947.
Repeated to Washington No. 12367

IMMEDIATE
TOP SECRET

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram No. 4156 29th November, repeated to Washington for information.

My telegram No. 4125 [cf 27th November: Palestine].

Memorandum has been handed to Mr. Marshall containing outline of withdrawal plan and calling attention to difficulties likely to be caused by premature arrival of United Nations commission in the event of partition being voted. Memorandum goes on to suggest that it would be most helpful if the United States representative at United Nations could be instructed to use his influence to ensure that the commission were ready to come to an arrangement with us on lines which would fit in with our plans, i.e., that it should not arrive in Palestine before May 1st.

2. We understand that Mr. Marshall has telegraphed substance of memorandum without comment to State Department His Majesty's Embassy will no doubt be able to inform you of State Department's reaction and you will then be able to judge whether and if so when to approach United States Delegation.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat].

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No. E 11342/46/G

J. G. S. B.

Draft.

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Top Secret.
Secret.
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Restricted.
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OFEX

Washington.
Telegram.

No.

(Date)

Repeat to :-

U. K. Delegation,
New York.

Sumner

Co. concur

J. S. Bevis
Dec. 3

~~En Clair.~~
~~Cypher.~~
Cypher.

Distribution :-

Diplomatic Secret.

Copies to :-

F. O.,

9

December, 1947.

Despatched

M.

IMPORTANT
SECRET.

Addressed to Washington telegram No. of . Repeated for information to U. K. Delegation New York. ~~London~~
Your telegram No. 6733 of December 1st: Palestine. ^{N.P.} We agree with the State Department that it may be necessary to allow for some give and take in negotiating arrangements for the arrival of the Commission. It might for instance ~~perhaps~~ be possible to arrange for the ~~earliest~~ ^{before May 1st} arrival of the Commission's Secretariat, who could be employed in preparing the way. We should however have to stand by our position as regards the arrival of the Commission itself.

2. I agree that matter can best be pursued at New York and it is hoped to send final instructions to Sir Alexander Cadogan very soon.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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E 11377

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1947

PALESTINE

3 DEC

Registry Number

E 11377/46/31

FROM

Sir. Hugh

No.

Lucas-Tooth
M.P.

Dated

Received in Registry

11/11/46

H.M.G. Palestine, Policy
Transmit copy of letter from the Rev Joseph
Holpern, who has recently returned from Palestine,
and who believes that H.M.G. Policy is morally
wrong with regard to Palestine.
Take an interview with Mr Bevin to get
forth his views.

Last Paper

11345

(Minutes.)

JB Dec. 4

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

Sgt. Sir H. Lucas
Tooth
M.P.

from J of J.
Dec. 3

(Action completed)

JEM/r

(Index)

JEM/r
9/1/48

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E 11386

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Minutes.

Eastern Dept Draft attached 11

S of S. has not seen. B. NOV. 28

Would you please submit a draft reply? S of S. is too busy with C.F.M. to see Mr. Helpeon, but perhaps someone in the Dept. could see him?

P. McKinnon
27/11

Mr. Burren suggests that I should see him. Draft.

M. S. Baird
NOV. 28

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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RECORDED 27-11-47
Letter Dept. 27/11/47
From Sir Hugh Lucas-Tooth, M.P.

25th November, 1947

Dear Sir,

12

I have been approached by the Senior Assistant Education Officer of the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education in the United Kingdom and Eire, the Rev. Joseph Halpern, who lives in my constituency. You will see from the enclosed letter that Mr. Halpern has been in Palestine very recently and has been in personal contact with a pretty wide range of leaders in that country.

most want development

Mr. Halpern is anxious to have an opportunity of meeting you, as he is of the opinion, for what may best be described as psychological reasons, that the ~~present~~ policy of His Majesty's Government is morally wrong and should be altered in the best interests of all concerned.

I saw Mr. Halpern and found him undoubtedly sincere, and I understand that he has a high reputation among moderate Jewry in this country.

P.T.O.

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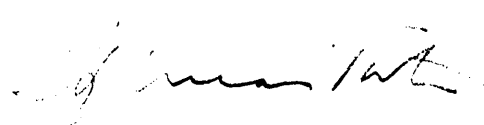
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13.

I told him that the present was not a very good time to ask to see you, but he replied that he would have had no difficulty in seeing Creech Jones, but felt that the views he wanted to give to the Government were those affecting your department and not the Colonial Office.

Yours sincerely,



The Rt.Hon. Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office,
Downing Street,
LONDON, S.W.1.

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E 11377/46/31)

"Immanuel" 14

15, St. Andrew's Road,

London, N.W.11.

22nd November 1947.

Dear Sir Hugh,

Further to my talk with you at the House yesterday, I should be greatly obliged if you could arrange for me to meet the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin.

Although I am the Senior Assistant Education Officer of the London Board of Jewish Religious Education and of the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education in the United Kingdom and Eire, Hon. Organiser of the Bible Readers' Union and Editor of its monthly Bulletin, Director of the Jewish Youth Study Groups which function in connection with public and secondary schools throughout the country, and an author of text-books in Jewish History, it is as a private citizen that I am making this request.

It was as a private citizen that in March of this year I approached the Colonial Office and obtained, through the good offices of Mr. J. M. Martin (Under-Secretary) and of Mr. Trafford Smith (Head of the Middle East Department), a permit to take a party of 120 people to Palestine in the summer, the only large party to have been granted such permission from this country since before the War.

Of my providential visit to Palestine and my contacts there I have already told you. Besides the High Commissioner, His Excellency Sir Alan Cunningham, and Mr. Fox-Strangways and Mr. Grimwood of the Palestine Administration, I had interviews with Mr. De Bunsen, Director of Education, Mr. Livingstone of the British Council, Mr. Alex Jose of the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation and Mr. Toucain, the Consul of Transjordan.

During the visit I participated in the World Conference on Jewish Education called by the Hebrew University which was held on Mount Scopus, at which I was naturally in contact with the leading Jewish figures in the country. In particular, I had several lengthy talks with Chief Rabbi Dr. Herzog and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Hebrew University, Sir Leon Simon.

I have been back from Palestine since September, and feel very strongly that there are certain points connected with that country which should be made plain to the Foreign Secretary and which cannot be done except by personal interview, as will appreciate.

It is for this reason that I seek this interview, and shall be grateful if it can be arranged for an early date. I would make myself available for it at any time after Tuesday, the 25th instant when I shall be out of town.

Allow me, in conclusion, to thank you most warmly for your courteous (and, may I add, even friendly?) reception of me at our meeting yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH

Rev

J. Halpern. MA

Sir Hugh Lucas-Tooth, M.P.,
7, New Square,
Lincoln's Inn,
W.C.2.

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Draft.

Sir H. Lucas -
Tooth ^{RF} MP

from S. ops.

CMA
29/11
Dr. S. Beins
Nov. 28

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3-DEC 1947	
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OUT FILE

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Lucas - Tooth

Dear Sir ~~Hugh~~,

Thank you for
your letter of Nov. 25th
enclosing a letter from
the Rev. Joseph Halpern,
who wishes to have
~~an interview~~ an interview
with me on the subject
of Palestine.

I am sorry that ~~at~~
~~present~~ I am at
present too busy with
the work of the Council
of Foreign Ministers to
receive Mr Halpern.
If however Mr Halpern
would care to call on
the Eastern Dept. of
the FO, would you
ask

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ask him to arrange an
appointment with Mr
John Beith at any
time convenient to him?

BARB

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Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Ernest Kewin

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

3rd December 1947.

OUT FILE

(E 11377/46/31)

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Dear Lucas-Tooth,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th November enclosing a letter from the Reverend Joseph Halpern, who wishes to have an interview with me on the subject of Palestine.

I am sorry that I am at present too busy with the work of the Council of Foreign Ministers to receive Mr. Halpern. If however Mr. Halpern would care to call on the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office would you ask him to arrange an appointment with Mr. John Beith at any time convenient to him?

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Ernest Bevin

Sir H. Lucas-Tooth, Bt., M.P.,

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<p>1947 195 31</p>	<p>Palestine EASTERN</p>	<p>13 E11328 / G</p>
<p>E11328/46/C F.O. Min Mr Wright dated 21 Nov Received 30.11.47</p>	<p>Palestine : Note for S of S's conversation with Mr Marshall</p>	
<p>Last Paper E11345</p>	<p>(Minutes) J. S. Baird</p>	
<p>References</p>	<p>H.B. 23/12</p>	
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Palestine

The question of Palestine may come up when the Secretary of State sees Mr. Marshall.

If so the Secretary of State may wish to restate our general position. He may care to add that we are extremely worried at the course of events in Palestine and at the possible consequences which may cut right across the general policies of our two Governments in the Middle East and may threaten the security of the Middle East. We believe that the present Majority plan is a bad one, and that its adoption entails a risk of disturbances on a large scale. Our conviction of the harm likely to be done to British and American interests in the Middle East by the adoption of the scheme has been greatly strengthened by Russian adherence to it. It can surely not be supposed that the Russians have forfeited Arab goodwill just for the sake of supporting what they consider a more equitable settlement. They must on the contrary expect important and tangible advantages. These appear to be three:-

- (1) Partition will create the most disturbed possible conditions, continuing over a number of years, which will give Russia the best opportunities for intervention.
- (2) A Jewish State should be particularly amenable to Russian influence (especially through the infiltration of Communist agents among illegal immigrants from Eastern Europe).
- (3) There is some reason to believe that the Russians hope to use Jewish terrorist organisations as their agents for destructive activities throughout the Middle East.

The one solution which so far as we can see will obviate some of these dangers would be a last minute agreement between the Jews and the Arabs, or the greater part of each side. We have always had a slender hope that faced with the definite prospect of British withdrawal and of the dangerous consequences likely to follow upon failure of the two States to reach agreement before that happens, both parties may prove willing to go further towards a compromise than they have been in the past. There have recently been signs of this on the Arab side (e.g. the tentative suggestion by Nuri of joint arbitration by the United States Government and Ibn Saud). But the chances of a willingness to compromise on the Jewish side will no doubt depend largely upon the advice which the United States Government may be willing to give to the Jews. We therefore earnestly hope that as and when opportunity may occur the United States Government may be willing to exercise very strong pressure on the Jews as well as on the Arabs in favour of moderation and compromise. This would be a most important contribution to the establishment of stable and peaceable conditions throughout the Middle East and thus to the exclusion of extremist influences of all kinds.

Mr. L. M. L. T.

21st November, 1947

Sir O. Sargent.

Jagoo
S. Sargent
H. W. 21

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1947 196 31 E11387/4619		Palestine EASTERN	E11387 / G 14 DEC 1947
F.O. Memo. Dated 27 Nov Received 3 Dec		Withdrawal from Palestine Paper handed to Mr Marshall U.S. Ambassador for Mr Marshall.	
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TOP SECRET

Withdrawal from Palestine.

The following is a summary of the British plan of withdrawal.

(a) Military withdrawal.

A series of clear-cut backward moves northwards from the Egyptian frontier phased as follows:-

Phase 1: Gaza Civil District by 29th February.

Phase 2: Jerusalem, Lydda and part of Samaria by 31st May.

Phase 3: Remainder of Samaria and Galilee by 30th June.

Phase 4: The remaining enclave round Haifa by 31st July.

The evacuation of stores through Haifa and by land to Egypt will start on December 1st. It is estimated that, even under the most favourable conditions, we shall lose nearly 150,000 tons of useful stores.

(b) Withdrawal of civil administration.

The civil administration and the mandate will be maintained over the whole of Palestine until May 15th, 1948, except that in certain circumstances the civil administration, or some parts of it, may be obliged to withdraw at an earlier date from the Gaza Civil District.

If the United Nations vote in favour of partition, the arrival of a United Nations commission for the purpose of carrying out this decision in Palestine is bound to have a disturbing effect on the Arab population. If the commission arrives before we were ready to hand over to it, this would make it impossible to carry out our plan. We could not maintain the mandate and civil administration for a longer period than fifteen days after the arrival of the commission in Palestine. The British representative in New York is accordingly being instructed, in the event of the Assembly voting for partition, to discuss with the United Nations commission a mutually convenient date for the commission's arrival, which, to fit in with the British plans, must be not before May 1st. It would be most helpful if the United States representative could be instructed to use his influence to ensure that the commission were ready to come to an arrangement with us on these lines.

27th November, 1947.

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3 DEC 1947

*Letter to
Easter
E11889*

Mr. Dixon.

Mr. McAlpine telephoned to say that the Prime Minister approves Mr. Bevin's minute to him, No. 173, which was sent over to No. 10 at lunchtime.

22

Mr. McAfee's Office.

27.11.47.

4.05 p.m.

*S. of S.
I propose to hand the attached
Top Secret paper to Mr Marshall
after the meeting.*

*PD
27/11
Sel. sent
KNY*

*I gave the paper to
the U.S. Ambassador, for Mr Marshall,
impressing on him its top secret character. PD
27/11*

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23.

MR. DIXON

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266

1947

E

E 11398

24

PALESTINE

3 DEC

Registry Number } E11398/46/31
 FROM }
 No. } 1100 post Model
 Dated } Parliament
 Received in Registry } 2 Dec.
 } 3 -

11.11.47. Palestine Policy.
 Link for the official answer to a P.Q. to be put up to the Foreign Secretary asking if he will reconsider his attitude to Palestine and give an undertaking that he will do all in his power to implement the decision of the U.N. with regard to Palestine.

Last Paper

11787

(Minutes.)

References

All over. P.S. agrees that no reply should be returned to this. It is really rather unparliamentary

19 Dec. 6

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)

9 E 11398/12

(Index)

[Handwritten signature]

Next Paper

E 11435


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Reference:

FO 371/61796

NEWPORT MODEL PARLIAMENT AND
SHADOW TOWN COUNCIL ASSOCIATION

25
E


Chairman:
F. J. NOTLEY, ESQ., F.S.A.A., F.C.I.S.

Hon. Secretary:
IVOR H. JONES, ESQ.,
CORN EXCHANGE,
NEWPORT, MON.
TEL. 3111.

Hon. Treasurer:
DR. JOAN RUXTON.

IHJ/MW.

[ESTABLISHED 1942]

(Affiliated to the Hansard Society).

*"To foster and stimulate interest in National and Local
Government and to provide opportunities for expression
of thought on the Welfare of our Town and Country."*

Asst. Hon. Secretary:

MISS DOROTHY LLOYD-DAVIES

"The Mayor":

ALDERMAN J. R. WARDELL, O.B.E., J.P.

"Mr. Speaker":

E. J. ATKINSON, ESQ., M.S.C.

URGENT

111598

Corn Exchange,
Newport, Mon.

3 DEC

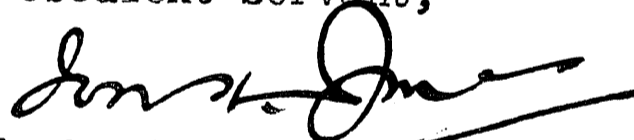
2 December, 1947.

Sir,

I should be most grateful for the official answer to the following question which is being asked at the next Sitting of the Newport Model Parliament on Friday next, 5. December. The answer to a possible supplementary would also be much appreciated.

Thank you in anticipation for your co-operation and for your past help.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,


Clerk of the House.

"To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will reconsider his attitude to Palestine and give an undertaking that he will do all in his power to implement the decision of the United Nations with regard to Partition."

The Private Secretary to the
Under Secretary of State,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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Reference:

FO 371/61796

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E

26

E 11435

1947

PALESTINE

4 DEC

Registry Number

E 11435/46/21

FROM

Private Sec

No.

to Chancellor of Exchequer

Dated

1 Dec

Received in Registry

4 ~

Solution to Palestine Problem

Re: Paper (E 11158/46/21)

Transmit further letter from A.P.L. to Chalmer, giving further views on his proposed solution to the Palestine Problem.

Last Paper

11398

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

ack. rec. 9

(Action completed)

J.P. 9/12

(Index)

8/12/48

Next Paper

E 11455

(Minutes.)

We have acknowledged the main paper (E 11158). Please send a printed acct. to Mr Chalmer for this JB Dec. 5

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Registered

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E

The enclosed letter is forwarded
for the attention of your
Department.

The writer has (~~not~~) been informed.

WITH COMPLIMENTS

-of-

Private Secretary to the Minister
~~for Economic Affairs~~

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1st December, 19⁴⁷.

511435

4 DEC

Cabinet Office, S.W.1.
Great George Street,
London, S.W.1.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61796

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28

1st December, 1947.

Dear Mr. Chalmers,

Thank you for your letter of November 26th. I have forwarded your letter to the Foreign Office as requested.

Yours sincerely,



(C. L. BRUCE)
Private Secretary.

D. P. L. Chalmers, Esq.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO 371 / 61796

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TEL. 25448

6
29
- 1 DEC 1947

8 BUCKINGHAM TERRACE
EDINBURGH

November 26th, 1947.

Dear Mr Bruce,

Many thanks for letting me know you have sent on my memorandum and letter of the 17th November to the Foreign Office. I suppose they will acknowledge to me.

The British Government, having handed to the U.N.O. the task of finding a substitute for the strife in Palestine, could hardly have intervened until the substitute was propounded.

The Committee say they found it yesterday and doubtless the Assembly will say ditto tomorrow. Twenty five saying yes, thirteen no, and seventeen nothing, adds up to a majority for non-approval of five - not exactly an international consensus. I wish Sir A. Cadogan could tell them they had found a roc's egg with an American trade-mark on it, but that would'n't be tactful.

The British Government could now tell U.N. that, as its finding disregards the fundamental proviso it made when submitting the matter, Jew/Arab voluntary acceptance, that now has to be got or we use the veto. It would be a pity to have to use Russian technique, and so probably the threat would be made off the record. The job of finding a way-out would be thrown back at us; and the solution which I think is the logical one would be put forward.

But in order to be able to put it forward the Government would need to know beforehand that the Arabs would accept it. The ordinary way, I suppose, would be that the Foreign Office, if my proposals met with its approval, would discuss them with

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the various Arab Ministries in London, who would report back to their Governments, a meeting of the Arab League might be called. By the time the Government was able to make the concrete offer to U.N. as acceptable to the Arabs the time limit it has placed on retaining the Mandate would have nearly run out. The Russians would say the British were inciting the Arabs to sabotage U.N.'s magnificent pacific partition agreement, and all the rest of it.

What I would like to suggest to the Foreign Office is that this is one of the occasions when private initiative can be combined with Departmental supervision in such a way as to speed up results.

My idea is that the Foreign Office might take the alternative scheme in my memorandum. That means paragraphs I to I8 of the memorandum and the paragraph headed Alternative Scheme on page 8. The Foreign Office would make any alterations or additions which suited them, desirable reference to something which may have been going on, for instance, which I naturally know nothing about. I would send this out, on my own note-paper, in letters to the Iraqi Legation, the Egyptian Embassy, The Royal Legation of Saudi Arabia, and any Palestine Jewish or Arab organisations which the Foreign Office wished, as my own personal suggestion for a solution of the problem. But I would also say that I had made the suggestion to the Foreign Office, and I gathered it had their approval. Saying that should produce replies which I would send to the Foreign Office. Or the recipients of my letters would themselves get in touch

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with the Foreign Office.

A private individual could not be accused of sabotaging U.N's plan; he might be called a busybody, and that doesn't worry him at all in the circumstances. Partition will not avert bloodshed in Palestine with all its repercussions against British interests. We can not afford to take that risk. Therefore another plan has to be put forward at once, and in another way. At least that is how I see it.

Finally I do think that, if my plan could be put forward with fair prospects of success, it would get a good press in most countries, America especially, for everybody with any commonsense must realise that the partition plan reaches the very nadir of failure.

Perhaps you will be kind enough to send this letter to whoever it is at the Foreign Office to whom you sent my former letter and memorandum. If I wrote to the Foreign Office direct it might take a little time before it connected up with what I sent you.

Yours sincerely,

D. P. L. Chalmers.



C. L. Bruce Esq.
 Private Secretary.
 Cabinet Office.
 Great George Street., S.W.I.

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<p>1947</p> <p>1947</p> <p>E 11455 146/C</p> <p>Washington 6448</p> <p>Dated 3 Dec Received 4 Dec</p>		<p>Palestine EASTERN</p> <p>E 11455 /G 14 DEC 1947</p> <p>Palestine Commission 32</p>
<p>Last Paper. E 11387</p>	<p>(Minutes.)</p> <p>Being distributed as usual</p> <p>Nov Dept. SA JCP SA Dept. u/r</p> <p>Mr. Benis Dec 4</p> <p>JAB</p> <p>6.12</p>	
<p>References.</p>		
<p>(Print.)</p>		
<p>(How disposed of.)</p>		
<p>(Action completed.) 2/12</p>	<p>(Index.) W.H.</p>	
<p>Next Paper.</p>		

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Green 33
E11455
4 DEC 1947

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Lord Inverchapel D.2.20 p.m. 5th December, 1947.

No. 8778

5th December, 1947. R.8.12 p.m. 5th December, 1947.

IMPORTANT

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram No. 528 December 3rd, repeated to Foreign Office.

Following from Hildegarde for Lawford.

My letter of 2nd December. *Not yet used* Palestine Commission.

For your personal and confidential information only the Danish Ambassador at Washington is today recommending to Copenhagen that Danish Government shall appoint as Danish representative on Palestine Commission either Helge Anderson or preferably Federspiel if available.

2. He plainly hopes that Dane will be elected Chairman of the Commission rather than Czech or Filipino; Latin Americans being hardly a likely choice. If Federspiel is available he would, I suggest, suit our book and be useful both in slowing down rush tactics and in coordinating Commission's activities with essential requirements of His Majesty's Government. You may therefore ~~be~~ care to keep in touch with your Danish colleague but please do not reveal above to him.

3. Bolivian Ambassador is entirely in the dark but expects information and instructions from La Paz.

B B B

4 DEC 1947
4 DEC 1947

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E 11471

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5 DEC

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FROM

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5 Dec

Arab Resolutions to Partition
Palestine till 2286/1 of 30,Reporting Arab Resolutions to U.N.
Division to Partition Palestine.

Last Paper

11458

References

- (Minutes.)
- 2) Palestine till 2287 20/11
3) - - 2296 1/12
4) - - 2312 2/12
5) - - 2315 2/12

(Print)

(How disposed of)

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completed)

(Index)

11/49

11/48

Next Paper

E11494

- 6) Palestine till 2338 4/12
- 7) Palestine till 2340 5/12
- 8) Palestine till 2362 9/12
- 9) - - 2379 9/12

M. S. Davis
Dec. 5

L. G. L. Pym
1/12

B.B.B.

6.12

to Dec. 9

11/12

to Dec. 12

P.T.O.

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12)	-	2388	10/12

H.B. 15/12

13) P's line tel 2397 11/12

H.B. 20/12

14) - - 2409 12/12

15) - - u/n 14/12

16) - - 2418 13/12

17) - - 2438 15/12

18) - - 2428 15/12

19) - - 2456 17/12

20) - - 2469 19/12

H.B. 20/12

21) - - 2466 18/12

H.B. 24/12

22) - - 2473 20/12

23) - - 2478 20/12

24) - - 2479 21/12

25) - - 2499 23/12

H.B. 30/12

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INWARD TELEGRAM

511471

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

5 EC 36

En Clair

INDEXED

7 21 1947 FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 30th November, 1947.
R. 30th " " 10.35 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2286

Addressed to Secretary of State.
Repeated to Washington.
" " Memin Ambassador Cairo.
" " Amman.
" " Damascus.
" " Jedda.
" " Baghdad.
" " Beirut.

First local reactions to U.N. decision.

There is considerable local excitement among the Arabs, particularly in the all-Arab towns. Shops have closed in Nablus and youths are parading the town carrying banners. So far there have been no incidents. There is a strike in Jenin and it is likely that it will spread throughout Arab Palestine.

2. At 08.30 hrs. a small bomb was thrown at a Jewish bus near Wilhema and automatic fire was opened on it. Casualties are; one Jewess dead, one Jew seriously and three slightly injured.

Jewish buses have been stoned on outskirts of Jerusalem. No casualties reported.

3. Arab Higher Committee is meeting in Jerusalem this morning.

4. Arab Press has been successfully controlled by censorship and on the whole matter submitted was less violent than might have been expected.

5. Jews are jubilant and crowds have gathered in various parts of Jerusalem.

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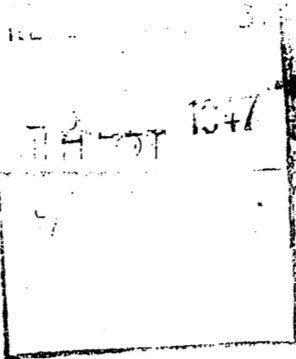
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" "	-	Mr. N. Butler
" "	-	Dominions Intelligence Dept.
" " (Research Dept.)	-	Air Commodore K.C. Buss
" " (Middle East	-	
" " Secretariat)	-	Mr. D.A. Greenhill
" " " " "	-	Major Gen. A.J.C. Pollock
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" " (M.I.3a.)	-	Major C. De B. De Lisle
" " (M.O.4.)	-	Lt. Col. M.M. Charteris
Air Ministry	-	Chief of Air Staff
Ministry of Defence	-	Private Secretary
" " "	-	Sir Henry Wilson Smith

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38

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 30th November, 1947.
R. 30th " " "

13.10 hrs. INDEXED

IMMEDIATE

No. 2287

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington.
" B.M.E.O. (Please pass to Ambassador)
" Amman.
" Jeddah.
" Baghdad.
" Beirut.
" Damascus.

My telegram No. 2286.

It is now learned that two buses were attacked and casualties are: five dead, five seriously injured and several slightly injured. All Jews.

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| " " | - Dominions Intelligence Dept. |
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| M.I.5 | - Mr. J.C. Robertson |
| Cabinet Offices | - Gen. Sir L. Hollis |
| " " | - Group Capt. Stapleton |
| " " | - Mr. T.A.G. Charlton |
| Admiralty | - Chief of Naval Staff |
| War Office | - C.I.G.S. |
| " " (M.I.3) | - Lt.Col. D.W. Price |
| " " (M.I.3a) | - Major C. De B. De Lisle |
| " " (M.O.4) | - Lt.Col. M.M. Charteris |
| Air Ministry | - Chief of Air Staff |
| Ministry of Defence | - Private Secretary |
| " " | - Sir Henry Wilson Smith |

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

39

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 1st December, 1947.

R. 1st " " 17.25 hrs.

No.2296

Addressed to S. of S.	No.277.
Repeated to Washington,	No.182.
" " Memin,	No.148.
" " Ambassador, Cairo,	No.1652.
" " Amman,	No. 90.
" " Jedda,	No. 85.
" " Baghdad,	No.1653.
" " Beirut,	No.1654.
" " Damascus,	

My telegram No.2286.

Arab reactions to U.N. decision.

The following is corrected version of incident reported in paragraph 2.

(a) At 0820 hours a Jewish bus was fired on by Arabs with automatic weapons near Wilhelma. A bomb was also thrown but failed to explode. Five fatal casualties, one seriously injured, four slightly injured. All Jews.

(b) At 0855 a second bus was fired on by Arabs in same locality. Two grenades were thrown, one of which exploded. Casualties: dead one Jewess, seriously injured one Jewess, slightly injured two Jewesses.

2. Other incidents were:-

(c) Arab strikes were observed yesterday at Nablus, Jenin, Beisan, Tiberias, Safad, and Nazareth.

(d) The dead body of a Jew who had been shot dead was found yesterday morning in Jaffa.

(e) In Acre gaol at 1535 hours Arab prisoners attacked Jewish prisoners in the exercise yard. The Jews retreated to their cells and barricaded themselves in. Prison staff used tear gas, which failed to disperse Arabs. Fire was then opened. Four Arab prisoners sustained bullet wounds, of whom two are in critical condition. No Jews were injured. Arabs fired prison library and destroyed it. Eight prisoners escaped during the confusion.

(f) In evening groups of Arabs living on Jaffa-Tel Aviv border evacuated themselves to Arab quarters.

(g) Two Jewish buses were stoned in Haifa during evening. Five occupants slightly injured. Later, Jews fired on an Arab bus-stop. A member of a passing Palestinian Police patrol returned fire and one Arab policeman was injured in the exchange.

(h) In evening in Jerusalem a Jewish bus was fired on and a grenade was thrown. No casualties.

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(i) At 0200 hours this morning a Jewish car was fired on outside Jaffe. No casualties.

(j) At 0830 hours a Jewish bus was stoned in Jerusalem. No casualties.

(k) A crowd of about 1,000 Arabs this morning demonstrated outside Saudi Consulate in Jerusalem. It dispersed quietly.

(l) At 1045 hours a Palestine potash truck was stoned in Jerusalem. No casualties.

(m) The Arab Higher Committee has called for a three days' strike.

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" "
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" (M.I.3a)
" (M.O.4.)

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Ministry of Defence

" " "

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- Chief of Air Staff.
- Sir Henry Wilson Smith.
- Private Secretary.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

RECEIVED

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 2nd December, 1947.
R. 3rd " " " 02.15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2312

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington, No. 281.
" " B.M.E.O., Cairo, No. 183. (please pass
copy to Ambassador and C.-in-C.).
" " Amman, No. 1661.
" " Aden, No. 1662.
" " Damascus, by savingram.

Reactions to U.N. Decision.

There were Arab demonstrations today in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Nazareth, Ramle, Acre, Tiberias, Beisan and Tarshiha.

2. In Jerusalem there was mob violence directed against Jews and Jewish property. A number of shops were looted and there were several cases of arson. Shots were fired by Jews and possibly also by Arabs though latter is not certain. Hagana has been out on the streets in force and has generally done its best to restrain the Jews from reprisals. Casualties reported are 2 Jews seriously wounded 1 Jew and 4 Arabs injured and 1 Jewish and 2 British Police injured. A number of Jews with arms were arrested during the day, 2 of whom had been sniping.

3. In Haifa 2 Jews were injured by Arabs neither seriously.

4. In Jaffa Arabs attacked Jewish shops and Police were compelled to make a baton charge. One British Policeman was slightly injured.

5. In Lydda 2 Jewish clinics were sacked by Arabs.

6. There were a number of cases of Arabs holding up and slowing Jewish transport in the Lydda District. These incidents resulted in 1 Jew being fatally injured, 1 Jew seriously injured and 1 Jew slightly injured. A fourth Jew was injured when a bus was fired on near Ramle.

7. In Gaza a military patrol fired on a group of Arabs at a road block killing 1 boy.

8. Near Roshpina a car containing J.S.P. was held up and stoned by Arabs. Jews fired warning shots and escaped injury. Subsequently an Arab was found dead in vicinity and an injured Jew named as his assailant was found in a nearby Colony. He claimed to have been beaten by Arabs.

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- Brigadier Cornwall-Jones.
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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 3rd December, 1947.
R. 3rd " " " 12.55 hrs.

IMMEDIATE
No. 2315

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington, No. 282.
" " B.M.E.O., Cairo No. 184 (please pass to
Ambassador and C.-in-C.)
" " Amman, No. 1663.
" " Aden, No. 1664.
" " Damascus, saving.

My telegram No. 2312.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

No doubt the press has made and will make much of yesterday's incidents. You should know that they were sporadic and unorganised and that the number of Arabs involved was comparatively small. The situation was at all times under full control.

I suggest that an endeavour be made to counter Press sensationalism and that the events be presented in their proper proportion as acts of hooliganism by comparatively small groups of irresponsible youths.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 4th December, 1947.

R. 4th " " 22.15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE
No. 2338

- Addressed to S. of S.
- Repeated to Washington.
- " " B.M.E.O. Cairo (please pass to Ambassador and C. in C.).
- " " Beirut.
- " " Damascus.
- " " Amman.
- " " Baghdad.
- " " Jedda.
- " " Aden.

My telegram No. 2323.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

The progressive improvement in the situation which was noticeable yesterday has been maintained today. The Jaffa Tel Aviv Border, where curfew has been imposed, has been quiet. There have been a few minor incidents in Jerusalem. Jewish traffic passing through Ramle this morning was stoned. Jews opened fire and threw scare bombs and subsequent Jewish traffic was fired on by Arabs. Jews and Police armoured cars escorting convoy returned fire. Casualties so far reported are two Arabs seriously and two Arabs slightly wounded by gunfire. There have been isolated incidents in other parts of country.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 5th December, 1947.

R. 5th " " 21.12 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No.2340

E 11471 / 46 / 11

Addressed to S. of S.
 Repeated to Washington.
 " " B.M.E.O., Cairo (please pass to
 Ambassador and Commander-in-Chief).
 " " Beirut.
 " " Damascus.
 " " Amman.
 " " Baghdad.
 " " Jeddah.
 " " Aden.

My telegram No.2338.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

The situation has continued to improve. In some towns there were peaceful and orderly demonstrations after the Friday prayers. There have, however, been incidents in various parts of the country, of which the following are the most serious.

(a) In Haifa two armed men believed to be Jews entered a N.A.A.F.I. store, held up the occupants and demanded money. On being refused they opened fire, wounding a British civilian employee.

(b) Two Palestine policemen escorting two curfew breakers, a Jew and an Arab, were attacked by Jews on Jaffa-Tel Aviv border. The Arab was stabbed and seriously injured; the Jew was slightly injured.

(c) An Arab taxi driver was stoned by Jews in Jerusalem and injured.

(d) A Police patrol encountered a crowd of Jews outside Tel-Aviv, who were discharging firearms. Shots were fired at the patrol, which returned the fire. One Jew was killed and two were injured. Some arms were captured. (This report is subject to confirmation of details).

(e) Shots were fired at a Jewish truck near Majdal Sadiq in the Lydda District. The driver and passenger both sustained bullet wounds, the former being seriously injured and the latter killed.

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FO 371/61796

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 9th December, 1947.
R. 9th " " 21.10 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2379

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington.
" " B.M.E.O., Cairo (please pass to Ambassador
and C.-in-C.)
" " Baghdad.
" " Amman.
" " Beirut.
" " Damascus.
" " Jedda.
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Local reactions to U.N. decision.

There were continued disorders in the Jaffa-Tel Aviv area last night and this morning, 9th December, with a considerable volume of firing by both Jews and Arabs, each side sustaining casualties, several of which were fatal. There were also further cases of arson.

During the afternoon of 8th December a military escort to a Jewish convey was fired on outside Jaffa, one British soldier being killed and another wounded.

During the night a large scale Arab attack developed on the Hatikva quarter adjoining Tel Aviv. In the course of the attack armed Arabs entered a house and wounded six Jews by gunfire, abducting a Jewess. At least one Arab was killed in the attack and several were wounded.

This morning police armoured cars on the Jaffa-Tel Aviv border were attacked with fire bombs and automatic fire. Two Policemen were injured, one seriously. A third British policeman was seriously injured when shot by a Jew.

2. In Haifa there have been a number of incidents during the past 24 hours including fatal casualties to both Arabs and Jews, as well as much promiscuous shooting by both sides. A British policeman was shot dead when following up persons who had fired on a police armoured car. Two Jews were killed when a Jewish truck was held up by Arabs at Balad esh Sheikh.

3. A Jew and an Arab travelling together in a car were murdered by Arabs near Wadi Sarrar in the Lydda district.

4. There was some shooting between Arab and Jews near the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem but generally the situation has been quiet in Jerusalem and other parts of the country, with the exception of the Jaffa-Tel Aviv area and Haifa.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 9th December, 1947.
R. 9th " " 17.45 hrs.

INDEXED

IMMEDIATE

No. 2362.

12 DEC 1947

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated Washington.
" B.M.E.O., Cairo (Please pass to C.-in-C.
and Ambassador)
" Beirut.
" Amman.
" Damascus.
" Jeddah.
" Baghdad.
" Aden.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

There were further shootings and some arson on the Jaffa-Tel Aviv border and in the Jaffa - Tel Aviv area on 6th and 7th December, resulting in a number of casualties, some fatal, to both Jews and Arabs.

2. In Jerusalem there were a few incidents during the past two days of which the following were the most serious.

- (a) At 12.20 hours on 6th December an Arab fatally wounded a Jew by stabbing
- (b) An Arab was seriously injured when Arab traffic was stoned and fired on by Jews during the afternoon of 6th December.
- (c) During the evening of 6th December there was a considerable volume of firing in and around the Jewish section of the Old City
- (d) A Jewish bus was fired on at 11.45 hours on 7th December, a Jewess being fatally injured.
- (e) A Jewish bus was attacked with a bomb and gunfire on the afternoon of 7th December, two Jews being seriously and two slightly injured.

3. There were also some incidents at Haifa involving shootings, stabbings and arson but not on a considerable scale. Six Jews were arrested in possession of arms after a building from which police had been fired on was cordoned and searched.

4. In the Gaza district five Jews travelling from Negba to Gath were stopped by Arabs in a truck. Two Jews escaped. Later the body of one Jew was found and a search party from Negba Colony was fired on, one of its members being killed. Later the body of a second Jew was found in the vicinity of the first.

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5. Total casualties (excluding the Security Forces) in the recent disorders, as ascertained up to 1000 hours on 7th December, are: Dead - 26 Jews, 49 Arabs, 1 Armenian; seriously injured - 17 Jews, 24 Arabs, 1 Armenian; injured other than seriously - 114 Jews, 49 Arabs.

6. Casualties to the Security Forces are: seriously injured - Army 1, Police 1, injured other than seriously - Army 1, Police 10.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 10th December, 1947.

R. 10th " " 11.00 hrs.

11471 46 31

IMPORTANT

+ No. 2323 of 3rd December.

My telegram No. 2321.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

Subsequent to my telegram under reference, the situation in Jaffa deteriorated and there was sporadic shooting by both Arabs and Jews on the Jaffa-Tel Aviv border. There was further destruction of property, both Jewish and Arab, a number of shops being sacked and burnt and a timber yard fired. Casualties were sustained by both Arabs and Jews. Two Jews were murdered by Arabs when a Military vehicle tried to break through a road block, fatally injuring an Arab.

2. In Jerusalem, there has been further hooliganism but on a considerably smaller scale than yesterday. Haifa has been comparatively quiet. There have been a few insignificant incidents in other parts of the country.

3. Although developments are unpredictable, there are grounds for hope that progressive improvement in the situation will be continued tomorrow.

+ (Received in Telegraph Section 10th December after request as missing number).

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"	P.S. to Foreign Secretary.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 10th December, 1947.

R. 10th " " 18.50 hrs.

No.2384

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jeddah,
Aden, Amman.

Following official communique was issued in
Palestine today. Begins.

His Majesty's Government have made it clear that so
long as the Mandate for Palestine remains in force the
Mandatory Administration will discharge its duty of
maintaining law and order.

During the past nine days there have been attacks
upon Jews by Arabs, upon Arabs by Jews and upon the Security
Forces by both Arabs and Jews. These attacks have caused
serious losses of life and extensive damage to property.

The High Commissioner now gives warning that
communal disorders must cease before further suffering and
loss is occasioned to the population of Palestine, and
calls upon the leaders of the two communities for their
co-operation to this end. Should these disorders continue,
he will have no option but to direct the Security Forces
to adopt severe measures against all those, Jew and Arab
alike, who are breaking the law. Ends.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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Ed Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 10th December, 1947.

R. 11th " " 07.00 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No.2388

Addressed to S. of S.
 Repeated to Washington, No.292.
 " to B.M.E.O., Cairo, No.188. (please pass to
 Ambassador and C.-in-C.)
 " to Bagdad, No.94.
 " to Amman, No.1732.
 " to Beirut, No.1733.
 " to Damascus, No.1734.
 " to Jedda, No. 100.
 " to Aden, No.1735.
 " to Aleppo, No.1736.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

The situation has generally improved during the 24 hours ended 19.00 hours on 10th December.

A. In Jerusalem there was sporadic firing during the night. One British Constable was stabbed by an Arab and slightly injured. This morning Jewish traffic was stoned near the Jaffa Gate and one Jew was stabbed. The Jews opened fire, wounding two Arabs.

B. 18 Arabs broke out of Acre prison and escaped aided by fire from the town.

2 Arabs were seriously and 7 were slightly injured. 1 British Constable was slightly injured.

C. Yesterday evening 6 Jews and a Jewess from Gevulot Colony in the Gaza district were attacked by Arabs, all save one being killed. During the night a large party of Jews attacked Karatiya village and demolished a hut with explosives. No casualties.

D. The situation in the Jaffa-Tel Aviv area showed marked improvement, though there were a few cases of arson to Arab and Jewish property. One Jew was injured when a police party escorting curfew breakers was fired on.

E. Haifa was the chief seat of disorder. A Jewish supernumerary Corporal was stabbed, a Jewish civilian shot and a third Jew stabbed during the period. A Jewish T.A.C. attacked by an Arab at the Railway Station shot his assailant dead. An Arab was shot and severely injured near Gluckson Settlement.

2. Total civilian casualties up to 17.00 hours on 9th December are:-

Dead	46 Jews,	32 Arabs,	1 other;
Seriously injured	29 Jews,	34 Arabs,	1 other;
Injured	141 Jews,	66 Arabs,	1 other (British).
			/Casualties

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Casualties to Security Forces are:-

4 dead (2 British);
5 seriously injured (4 British);
18 injured (11 British).

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INWARD TELEGRAM

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

1147/46 21

FN Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 11th December, 1947.
R. 11th " " 21.50 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2397.

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington.
" " B.M.F.O. Cairo (please pass to
Ambassador and C. in C.)
" " Baghdad.
" " Damascus.
" " Beirut.
" " Aden.
" " Jedda.
" " Amman.
" " British Consul Aleppo.

Local reactions to U.N. Decision.

The situation has been generally quieter during the past 24 hours except in Haifa. There have been some incidents in Jerusalem involving fatal casualties to both Jews and Arabs, but the trouble there has not been on a large scale.

2. The following were the chief incidents reported in Haifa since my telegram No. 2388.

(a) Unknown persons shot and killed a British Army N.C.O. and dangerously wounded another during the evening.

(b) The body of an Arab who had been shot was found at 17.00 hours.

(c) Two Jews dressed as Arabs held up the watchman of an Arab bus company garage during the night and set fire to two buses and a car (this incident has been claimed by the Hagana), a Police armoured car which arrived on the scene was fired on.

(d) At 06.00 hours a bomb was thrown from a Jewish truck killing one Arab and wounding five near Balad Esh Sheikh.

(e) An Arab Legion Guard was fired on by Jews and replied killing one Jew.

(f) At 07.00 hours a bomb was thrown from a Jewish taxi seriously injuring three Arabs.

(g) A Jew was admitted to hospital seriously

/injured

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injured by gun fire.

(b) At 13.25 hours an Arab bus and a private car were wrecked by a bomb. Four Arabs were killed and a number injured.

3. In Jerusalem two Jews were wounded by gunfire this morning. Shortly after, two Arabs were killed by fire from the Jewish quarter of the Old City, and a Police party which went to the scene was fired on. A third Arab was later shot in the same vicinity at noon, a bomb was thrown at an Arab bus, one Arab was killed and one injured.

4. The Jaffa Tel Aviv area has been generally quiet. This afternoon bombs were thrown from a Jewish car passing through Yazar wrecking an Arab cafe and the convoy was fired on by Arabs, one Jew being killed. It is not established whether Jews or Arabs were the first aggressors.

5. A convoy of four Jewish buses was attacked on the Hebron Road this evening by 14 Arabs. Unconfirmed reports give nine Jews dead and six seriously injured.

6. A Jewish bus was fired on on the Samakh Beisan Road this evening by Arabs, two Jews being injured.

7. Reference para one (b) of my telegram No. 2388, there were no (repeat no) casualties during the Acre Goal break.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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p.m.
E

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

11471 46 31

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 17th December, 1947.

R. 18th " " "

07.10 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2456

Addressed to S. of S.

- " " Washington, No. 301.
- " " B.M.E.O., No. 195 (please pass to Ambassador and C.-in-C.).
- " " Beirut, No. 1812.
- " " Damascus, No. 1813.
- " " Baghdad, No. 102.
- " " Aden, No. 1814.
- " " Jeddah, No. 108.
- " " Amman, No. 1815.
- " " Aleppo No. 1816.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

General situation has continued to show some improvement. Following are major incidents since my telegram No. 2438:-

(a) Jerusalem district.

(i) Last night in Jerusalem unknown persons, believed Jews shot and dangerously wounded two British W.C.O.s from C.I.D. H.Q.'s. One of the victims died at 23.00 hours.

(ii) Shortly after the incident described above two Jews were shot and wounded by persons stated to be in blue uniform.

(b) Lydda district.

(i) At mid-day on 15th December a Jew was shot and slightly injured by unknown Arabs in Bat Yam.

(ii) At 11.00 hours on 16th December four Arabs were found looting Jewish property in Tel Aviv. Three escaped but one was arrested in possession of a knife.

(iii) Yesterday afternoon a Jewish truck travelling near Lydda Airport was fired upon by Arabs. Truck driver and his Jewish passenger were slightly injured. Arab snipers fired on police visiting the scene but police returned the fire which then ceased.

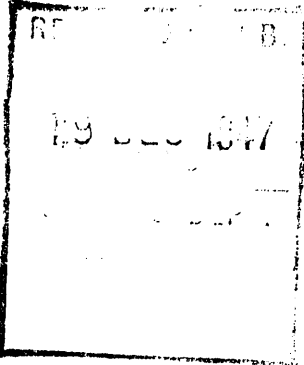
(iv) During afternoon 15th December seven Arabs disarmed the sentry at a Railway Police post on the Haifa-Kantara line and removed eight rifles, 1,500 rounds of ammunition, a Verrey light pistol and 30 cartridges.

(v) During the afternoon of 15th December a military truck was held up by 20 armed Jews on the Ras en Naquret-Haifa road. The two British soldiers in the truck were removed and

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Reference: FO 371/61796

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and the vehicle was driven away with the cargo. The two soldiers were released unharmed two hours later.

(d) Gaza district.

(i) In the early hours of 16th December one of a party of Arabs attempting to enter a military camp at El Jiha was shot dead while scaling the perimeter fence.

(ii) At 11.10 hours 16th December near Kalusa a Jewish pick-up was attacked by armed Arabs. One Jew was killed and one seriously injured.

(iii) During the afternoon of 16th December occupants of a Jewish Settlement Police pick-up are alleged to have opened fire on a Police Officer near Asluj, Camelry police post. Police personnel returned the fire killing 3 Jews, and seriously wounded one.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

11471 46 31

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 13th December, 1947

E. 13th " " " 15.30 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2418.

Addressed S. of S.
Repeated Washington.
" B.M.E.O. Cairo (Please pass to
Ambassador and C. in C.)
" Beirut.
" Damascus.
" Baghdad.
" Aden.
" Jedda.
" Amman.
" British Consul Aleppo.

Local reactions to U.N. Decision.

During the afternoon of 12th December a B.O.A.C. vehicle was stopped near Lydda Town by armed Arabs who ordered the driver to alight, entered the vehicle and drove away towards Hamle. The vehicle contained as passengers four Jews, five Armenians and one Arab, all B.O.A.C. employees. The vehicle was later found burnt out near the Lydda-Ben Shemen Road and inside were the charred remains of three or four bodies. The remainder of the occupants are missing.

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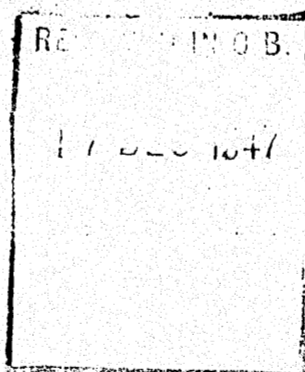
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" " (M.O.4)
Ministry of Transport
" " "
Air Ministry
" "
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" "
" "
M.I.5

- P.S. to Sir Orme Sargent.
- P.S. to Foreign Secretary.
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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

11471 46 31

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 15th December, 1947.
R. 16th " " 07.00 hrs.

RECEIVED

IMMEDIATE

No. 2438.

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to Washington, No. 300.

" " B.M.E.O. Cairo (please pass to
Ambassador and Commander in
Chief) No. 194.

" " Beirut, No. 1796

" " Damascus, No. 1797

" " Baghdad, No. 1798

" " Aden, No. 1799

" " Jedda, No. 107

" " Amman, No. 1800

" " British Consul Aleppo, No. 1801.

Local reactions to U.N. Decision.

Though there were fewer serious incidents today, it would be unwise to assume that there had been any radical improvement in the general situation. Comparative lack of incidents in large towns is due to intensive military patrolling.

2. The following are the major incidents since my last telegram.

(a) Jerusalem District. At noon today a grenade was thrown by unknown persons and fire directed at two Trans Jordan Frontier Force vehicles leaving Jerusalem on the Jaffa road. Four members of the T.J.F.F. and one Jew were injured.

(b) Lydda District. At noon today an Arab bus was fired upon by four Jews in Military uniform near Ras El Ain Railway Station. One Arab passenger was killed and seven injured.

(c) Haifa District. Curfew on Hadar Hacarmel area of Haifa was lifted at 0500 this morning.

(d) Galilee District. Early this morning a Jewish civilian and two Jewish Settlement Police were fired upon by Arabs at the Arab village of Zulfauquani. The Jewish civilian was killed and one of the J.S.P.S. seriously injured.

(e) Gaza District.

(1) At 11.00 yesterday, a J.S.P. pickup escorting a water cart from Beit Eshel, Jewish Colony, was

/fired.

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fired upon by Arabs. The vehicle was destroyed by fire one Jew was killed and three wounded.

(2) In Gaza this morning an Arab mob attacked and killed the Mukhtar of Huj Village and his brother. Motive for attack believed to be that deceased was suspected of supplying Jewish Colonies in Huj Area with food and provisions. One other Arab was injured.

(f) Samaria District. At 14.30 today a truck containing Arab labourers from Jaffa was fired upon west of Qalqilya by Jews. One arab was killed and two injured. Ends.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

1147' 46 31

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 15th December, 1947.

R. 15th " " 13.50 hrs.

IMMEDIATE
No. 2428

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to Washington.

Memin (please pass to Ambassador and C.-in.-C.)
" " Beirut.
" " Damascus.
" " Bagdad.
" " Aden.
" " Jedda.
" " Amman.
" " British Consul Aleppo.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

At 14.45 hours on 14th December a convoy of 4 Jewish vehicles proceeding southwards on the Petah Tiqvah-Beit Nabala-Lyddah road was fired upon by unknown persons over a distance of 4 miles. The leading truck went off the road and its 8 passengers, all of whom were wounded, were picked up by a passing military lorry and taken to Beit Nabala Military Camp for medical treatment. This vehicle was fired upon and its British Driver slightly injured. The second truck also went off the road and its injured passengers were picked up by the third truck, which proceeded towards Beit Nabala Military encampment still under heavy fire. On arrival opposite part of the camp occupied by the Arab Legion the occupants of the Jewish vehicle are alleged to have thrown grenades into the camp, whereupon the Arab Legion guards opened fire, causing the vehicle to crash through the perimeter fence. On the vehicle were found 13 Jews killed, 2 Jews seriously injured and one Jew uninjured. Unexploded grenades were found in and near the truck and bomb fragments near the place where it crashed through the fence. An Arab working in the camp was seriously injured by a stray shot. A military vehicle passing the camp at the time of the engagement also came under fire and its British driver was seriously injured.

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M.I.5.

No. 10 Downing Street

Lord President

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

11471 / 46 / 31
17 DEC 1947

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 14th December, 1947.
R. 14th " " 19.50 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

Not numbered.

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington,
" to B.M.E.O., (please pass to Ambassador
and C.-in-C.).
" to Beirut.
" to Damascus.
" to Baghdad.
" to Jeddah.
" to Aden.
" to Amman.
" to British Consul, Aleppo.

Begins.

Local reaction to U.N. decision.

Acts of violence continued throughout the country.
The following are the major incidents since my telegram
No. 2418.

2. (a) Jerusalem district.

(I) At noon 13th December, near Damascus gate in
Jerusalem, two bombs were thrown from a moving taxi. They
exploded near two buses killing seven and injuring 54, nearly
all Arabs. During police investigations immediately after the
incident, a British constable was fired on by Arabs and
seriously wounded.

(II) Early this morning, Jews threw two grenades at
an Arab bus in Jerusalem. The bombs missed the bus and exploded
on waste ground killing an Arab child. One Arab passenger in
the bus was injured.

(b) Lydda district.

(I) In Jaffa yesterday afternoon, a bomb was
thrown from a motor vehicle wrecking a cafe and a store,
killing 7 and injuring 35 Arabs.

(II) In Tel-Aviv yesterday afternoon, an Arab was
shot in the leg by Jews.

(III) Yesterday afternoon approximately 25 persons,
believed Jews, entered Arab village of Yahudiya and opened an
indiscriminate attack with Bren guns, bombs and hand grenades.
7 Arabs, including a woman and children, were murdered and at
least 7 others were injured. Several houses were damaged by
explosives. The attackers were dressed in military type uniforms
with steel helmets.

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(IV) During the night of 13th December, a gang of Arab civilians forced their way into a military camp at Ramle, imprisoned the British Officer in Charge, and absconded with 400 rifles, 3 Bren guns, 30 Sten guns and 100,000 rounds of ammunition. Subsequently 76 rifles, 3 Bren guns and 7 Sten guns were recovered from a truck stopped by a military road block.

(c) Haifa.

(I) In the afternoon of 12th December, a Jewish works foreman of Haifa Bay waterworks was shot dead outside the Shell installations while driving a truck.

(II) A thirtyfive hour curfew is in force in the Hedar Hacarmel and Mount Carmel areas of Haifa. It is due to expire at 05.00 hours 15th December.

(d) Galilee.

(I) During the afternoon of 13th December, two Arabs from the Lebanon were walking in direction of Kefar Giladi when a Jew made to fire at them. The Arabs disarmed the Jew who shouted for help and 30 other armed Jews arrived on the scene. One of these Jews threw a grenade and wounded one of the Arabs. The latter withdrew into Lebanon territory.

(II) Heavy firing between Arabs and Jews broke out on 13th December in Safad. Two Arabs and two Jewish casualties are known to have resulted. Order was restored when a house curfew was imposed.

(III) Early this morning an Arab bus was ambushed on the Beisan-Jisr Majami road and was gutted. Police later investigating found a hat of Jewish manufacture and explosive materials. The driver of the buss and two Arab passengers were injured in the ambush.

(e) Gaza.

(I) During the morning of 11th December, in the Imara police post area, an Arab was shot dead by five Jews. These Jews were subsequently engaged by other Arabs and three of them were killed by the explosion of one of their own bombs.

(II) During the night of 13th December a police patrol at Es-Sawafir El Gharbiya was fired upon by unknown persons and two British constables were wounded.

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71 P.W.
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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Ed Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 12th December, 1947.

P. 12th " " 23:15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE
No. 2409

Addressed to	S. of S.
Repeated	" Washington.
"	" B.M.E.O., Cairo, (please pass to Ambassador and C.-in-C.).
"	" Beirut.
"	" Damascus.
"	" Baghdad.
"	" Aden.
"	" Jeddah.
"	" Amman.
"	" British Consul Aleppo.

Local reactions to U.N.

Incidents involving casualties to both Arabs and Jews have continued in various parts of the country but no major clashes have occurred.

2. In the attack on a convoy of Jewish buses on the Hebron Road reported in paragraph 5 of my telegram No. 2397, ten Jews were killed and four injured. It is reported that the Arab attackers numbered thirty and fired from different positions.

3. As a result of the bomb attack in Haifa reported in paragraph 2(h) of my telegram No. 2397 thirty Arabs were injured in addition to the four killed. It is reported that I.Z.L. claim responsibility for this outrage.

4. The following are the major incidents since my telegram under reference:-

(a) Jerusalem District.

(i) During the evening of 11th December, a party of Jews dressed as Military and Police entered Shafat village under covering fire and damaged two houses with explosives. One Arab was dangerously wounded.

(ii) This morning, Jews threw six hand-grenades at Arab shops in the town. Three Arab casualties were caused.

(iii) An Arab bus fired on the Hebron road this morning. No casualties.

(iv) This afternoon Jews entered Lifta village and set fire to some Arab property.

(b) Lydda District.

(i) The Jaffa-Tel Aviv border area has remained quiet.

(ii) At midnight on 11th/12th December, a party of Jews entered Ramli town and threw bombs and fired at Arab premises. One Arab was killed and one injured. Extensive damage was

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was caused to motor vehicles on the scene.

(iii) Troops investigating firing near Petah Tiqva this morning was fired on by Arabs and one B.O.R. was injured. One Arab was killed and one injured.

(c) Haifa.

(i) At 19.45 hours on 11th December a military truck was fired at by unknown persons and a B.O.R. was seriously injured.

(ii) During the night of 11th/12th December armed Jews attacked Tirsch village and an engagement ensued. Twelve Arabs were killed and six injured. One house was destroyed, and others damaged.

(iii) This afternoon in Haifa town, unknown persons fired on a Military jeep, injuring one British Officer and three B.O.R.

(iv) Town is generally quiet under heavy Military and Police patrolling.

(d) Gaza District.

(i) During the night of 11th/12th December, a party of Arabs was fired on by unknown persons on the Gaza-Beersheba road. Two were killed.

(ii) The bodies of three Jews forming part of a party of five Jews from Mishmar Hanegev which had been missing since 11th December were found.

5. This afternoon there was a disturbance in the Arab Gaol Labour Camp at Athlit. Guards opened fire, seriously wounding six persons. Three other prisoners escaped.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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En Clair

INDEXED

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 19th December, 1947.
R. 19th " " 22.15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2469

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington No. 303.
" " B.E.M.O. No. 197 (Please pass copy to
Ambassador and C. - in-C.)
" " Beirut, No. 1833.
" " Damascus, No. 1834.
" " Baghdad, No. 106.
" " Aden, No. 1835.
" " Jedda, No. 111.
" " Amman, No. 1836.
" " British Consul
Aleppo, No. 1837.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

General situation unchanged. Following are the major incidents since my telegram No. 2466.

2.(a) Jerusalem District.

(i) Early yesterday morning an unknown Arab fired four shots at a Jewish convoy leaving the Old City. No casualties or damage.

(ii) During the morning Jewish staff in the Departments of the Accountant-General, Land Settlement, Civil Service Commissioner, Attorney-General and in certain British business firms left their offices in protest against what they considered to be inadequate security arrangements.

(iii) Yesterday afternoon a police car travelling towards Artuf was fired upon by Arabs in ambush. No casualties.

(b) Lydda District.

(i) A Jewish boy in Helon was injured by a short fired from the direction of the Arab village of Tel er Rish.

(ii) Yesterday morning Arabs fired shots at a Government train standing in Kfar Jinnis Railway Station. No casualties. Police escort on the train returned fire and it is believed that three of the attackers were wounded.

(iii)

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(iii) An Arab store in Jaffa was wrecked by explosions last night. Five Jews were arrested on the scene by the Military.

(c) Gaza District.

(i) During the morning of 17th December a sten gun was stolen from the back of a military vehicle parked in Gaza town while the drivers attention was distracted by Arab youths interfering with the vehicle.

(ii) In early hours of this morning 20 armed Arabs held up police post at Isdud Railway Station and stole three rifles and ammunition.

(d) Samaria District.

(i) At noon on 18th December in Talkarim a sten gun was stolen from a military vehicle while the driver was chasing an Arab who had seized a sten gun magazine from the vehicle.

(e) Galilee District.

(i) At 9 p.m. 18th December two cars containing Jews drove into Khisas Arab village throwing bombs and discharging automatic weapons. Two houses were demolished. Ten Arabs were killed including five children and five Arabs wounded, one seriously. First reports indicate that this was a Hagannah outrage as pamphlets in Arabic issued by Hagannah were scattered in the area during the attack.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 18th December, 1947.
R. 18th " " 18.55 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2466

Addressed to Secretary of State.
Repeated Washington No. 302.
" B.M.E.O. No. 196 (Please pass to
Ambassador and C.-in C.).
" Beirut No. 1823
" Damascus No. 1822.
" Baghdad No. 104.
" Aden No. 1824.
" Jedda No. 110.
" Amman No. 1825
" British Consul Aleppo No. 1826.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

General situation remains much the same. During the past few days, a considerable number of Arab temporary additional Constables and supernumerary Police have absconded with their rifles; other Arab Police on guard duty have been attacked by Arabs and their arms and ammunition have been stolen.

2. Following are the major incidents reported since my telegram No. 2456.

(a) Jerusalem District.

(i) Early yesterday morning, two Arabs were found in a wadi suffering from bullet wounds. It is believed they were shot by Haganah.

(ii) Yesterday morning in Jerusalem, a British member of British Stores Disposal Office was stopped in his car by Arabs. He produced his British passport but was assaulted and stabbed, receiving minor injuries.

(iii) Yesterday afternoon in Jerusalem, a Jew, mentally deficient, of no fixed abode, was shot by an unknown Arab and seriously injured.

(b) Lydda District.

Yesterday afternoon in Yazur village, an Arab driving a G.P.O. van was shot at from an Arab cafe and slightly wounded.

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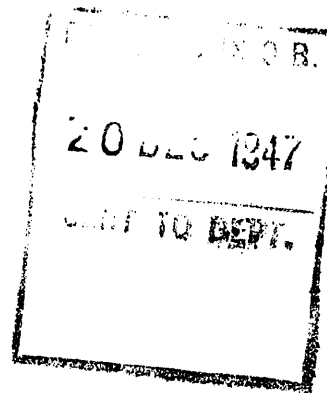
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(c) Gaza District.

Early yesterday morning Arabs, variously estimated at between 30 and 100, attacked Nevatim Jewish Colony West of Beersheba. A Police party of five which endeavoured to reach the Colony was heavily engaged by the attackers. Military forces were then summoned and gained control of the situation. Two Jewish colonists were injured in the action, one seriously. It is believed that the Arabs had come from Hebron.

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INDEXED
INWARD TELEGRAM

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

This document must be paraphrased if the communication of its contents to any person outside Government Service is authorised.

Cypher

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 20th December, 1947.
R. 20th " " 14.05 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2473 Secret.

11471 46 31

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to UKDEL, New York No. 1836 (Washington please pass).

- " " Washington, No. 304.
- " " Beirut, No. 1839.
- " " Damascus, No. 1840.
- " " Baghdad, No. 107.
- " " Aden, No. 1841.
- " " Jeddah, No. 112.
- " by airmail to Amman.
- " to British Consul, Aleppo (Damascus please pass as my No. 1843).
- " " B.M.E.O., Cairo, No. 198. (please pass to Ambassador and C.-in-C).

My telegram No. 2469 repeated to Washington No. 303.

At approximately 9 p.m. on 18th December two cars containing Jews entered Khisas Village in Huleh area coming from the direction of the Jewish Colonies of Dan and Dafne. The occupants threw a number of bombs and opened fire, later withdrawing in the direction from which they had come. It appears that all firearms used were automatic as the expended cases of automatics only were found. Bomb fragments and pins (the latter indicating that the bombs were of French manufacture) were also found at the scene, together with pamphlets printed in Arabic. These pamphlets are issued by the Haganah and are headed "Warning", and say that the Haganah know for certain that villages in the area are quiet and did not participate in recent disturbances. They mention the burning of a motor-cyclist at Naameh Village, the stoning of Jewish cars and attempted murder of a Jew in Khisas Village. They also mention the killing of a Jewish boy in Safed Prison and say that Jews extend the hand of peace but at the same time are prepared to extend the nailed fist, and that the Haganah appeal to the Arabs to grasp the hand of peace and not the nailed fist.

2. In this action ten Arabs were killed including five children under ten years of age. Five Arabs were injured and a house was destroyed. No shots were fired by Arabs in reply.

3. This is a clear instance of reprisals or retaliatory action which it has for some time been believed that the Haganah is taking as part of its considered policy. The action amounted to no less than deliberate murder and, coming as it does at a time when the Jews are persistently and vigorously advertising that they are not allowed arms, to defend themselves, and are disarmed by the Security Forces when caught with arms, may serve as

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as a useful argument that widespread arming of the Jews is a menace to, rather than an assurance of, security.

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B.

23 DEC 1947

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(II) Shortly after noon yesterday a goods train bound from Haifa to Lydda was stopped by an explosion on the line. Approximately 100 unknown armed Arabs then opened fire on the train and held up the crew. 35 tons of sugar were taken from the train and loaded into lorries which drove off. There were no casualties and no damage caused to the train. Two Arab temporary additional Constables acting as escort to the train deserted with their rifles and ammunition.

(III) Later in the afternoon another goods train was stopped by explosion of a fog detonator, armed Arabs attacked the train broke open wagons and removed a quantity of rice barley and wheat to trucks parked in nearby orange groves. The train escort returned the fire but were immediately disarmed.

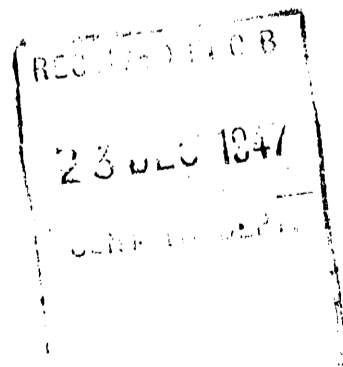
(e) Galilee District.

From 11.30 hours yesterday a complete embargo has been placed for a period of 36 hours on movement of all Jewish transport in the Northern Huleh area.

(f) Gaza District.

In the early hours of 19th December a number of armed Arabs held up the personnel of Isdud Railway Station Police Post and stole 3 rifles and 540 rounds of ammunition.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 20th December, 1947.
2. 20th " " 18.20 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2478

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington, No. 306.
" " B.M.E.O., Cairo, No. 199 (please pass to
Ambassador and C.-in-C.).
" " Beirut, No. 1852.
" " Damascus, No. 1853.
" " Baghdad, No. 109.
" " Aden, No. 1854.
" " Jeddah, No. 114.
" " Amman, No. 1855.
" " British Consul, Aleppo No. 1856.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

Following are major incidents since my telegram
No. 2469.

2. (a) Jerusalem District.

Yesterday afternoon a Jew was rescued by Police
while being attacked by a crowd of Arabs in Jerusalem. He
was removed to hospital in a serious condition.

(b) Lydda District.

(I) Yesterday morning the body of an Arab was
admitted to hospital in Jaffa. He is reported to have been
shot and killed by unknown Jews in Tel El Rish.

(II) Near Ramle Railway Station yesterday
afternoon a Jewish truck loaded with flour was stopped by
Arabs and destroyed by fire, the two Jews travelling in the
truck escaped.

(III) A Jew in Holon was wounded yesterday
afternoon by a shot fired from Arab village of Tel El Rish.

(IV) During the night of 18th/19th December
unknown persons entered Immigration Offices in Tel Aviv and
stole five secret files.

(c) Haifa District.

In Haifa yesterday afternoon two Arabs were wounded
when two unknown Jews fired shots into Allenby Road.

(d) Samaria District.

(I) Early yesterday morning an unknown armed
Arab held up occupants of Qalqilya Police Post and stole
eight rifles, 300 rounds of ammunition, a Verrey light pistol
and 30 cartridges.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

En Clair

1147/4631

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 21st December, 1947.
R. 21st " " 12.50 hrs.

IMMEDIATE
No. 2479

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Washington, No. 307.
" B.M.E.O. Cairo, No. 200 (please
pass to Ambassador and C.-in-C.).
" Beirut, No. 1857.
" Damascus, No. 1858.
" Amman, No. 1859.
" Jeddah, No. 115.
" Aden, No. 1861.
" British Consul Aleppo, No. 1860.

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

Incidents involving casualties to both Jews and Arabs continue. There has been a further indiscriminate attack by Jews on an Arab village resulting in casualties to innocent persons, additional instances of Arabs looting supplies from good strains have occurred. The following are the major incidents reported:-

(a) Jerusalem.

(1) On the Jerusalem Jaffa Road a Jewish bus was fired on and one passenger was wounded.

(2) On Friday night a Jewish supernumerary Police Sergeant was killed in Jerusalem by shots fired at him by Arab sentries guarding a military officers mess, the guards allege that the Jew fired at them first.

(b) Lydda District.

(1) At midnight on 19th/20th December Jews approached Qazaza Village and opened fire indiscriminately with automatic weapons killing one Arab male, seriously injuring another and slightly injuring an Arab female.

(2) In the early hours of 20th December a military patrol was fired upon by unknown persons and a British Private was killed.

(3) Yesterday morning two Arabs in Jaffa were wounded by shots fired from the direction of Tel Aviv.

(c) Samaria District.

(1) During the night of 19th December, between Qaqun and Tulkarm Railway Stations, Arabs attacked a goods train and stole barley, cattle, margarine and cement from the wagons, there were no casualties.

(2) Later that night another goods train was attacked by armed Arabs and flour and other articles were stolen. One Arab believed to be an attacker was killed by shots fired by the train escort.

(d)

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Reference: FO 371/61796

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(d) Galilee District.

In Khisas Arab Village a Jewish convoy was fired upon presumably by Arabs and two Jews were seriously injured, a third Jew is missing. Khisas was the scene of the Haganah outrage on 18th December.

Copies sent to:-

- Cabinet Offices
 - " "
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 - Ministry of Defence
 - Treasury
 - "
 - Admiralty
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 - "
 - War Office
 - "
 - " (R.O.A.)
 - Ministry of Transport
 - " "
 - Air Ministry
 - "
 - Foreign Office
 - " "
 - " "
 - M.I.5.
 - No. 10 Downing Street
 - Lord President
 - Foreign Office
 - " "
 - " "
 - Admiralty
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 - War Office
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 - Air Ministry
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 - Cabinet Offices
 - Ministry of Defence
 - " "
 - Commonwealth Relations Office
 - Ministry of Transport
 - Foreign Office (Research Dept.)
- Mr. S.E.V. Luke.
 - Brig. Cornwall-Jones.
 - Cmdr. W. Gresham, R.N.
 - Mr. A.J. Newling.
 - Mr. D.F.C. Blunt.
 - Mr. W. Russell-Edmunds.
 - Mr. P.N.N. Synnott.
 - Captain Mansell.
 - Captain D.H. Hall-Thompson.
 - Mr. G.C.B. Dodds.
 - Brig. J.R.C. Hamilton.
 - Brig. L.L. Wansbrough-Jones.
 - Lt. Col. M.K. Charteris.
 - Mr. E.F. Jickatt.
 - Mr. P.C. Rennie.
 - Air Commodore Brock.
 - Group Captain V.H.B. Roth.
 - Mr. E.A.B. Burrows.
 - Mr. H. Bosley.
 - Mr. J.G.S. Bell.
 - Mr. J.C. Robertson.
 - P.S. to Prime Minister.
 - Private Secretary.
 - Private Secretary.
 - P.S. to Sir Orme Sargent.
 - P.S. to Foreign Secretary.
 - Private Secretary.
 - First Sea Lord.
 - Private Secretary.
 - C.I.G.S.
 - Private Secretary.
 - C.A.S.
 - Sir N. Brook.
 - Private Secretary.
 - Sir H. Wilson Smith.
 - Private Secretary.
 - Private Secretary.
 - Air Commodore K. J. Cook.

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RECEIVED IN C.B.
 23 DEC 1947

36 p.w.
E

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Ed Clair

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 23rd December, 1947.
R. 23rd " " 19.50 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2499

11471 46 31

Addressed to	S. of S.	30 DEC 1947
Repeated to	Washington.	
"	" B.M.E.O.,	(please pass to Ambassador, C.-in-C.)
"	" Beirut.	
"	" Damascus.	
"	" Baghdad.	
"	" Aden.	
"	" Amman.	
"	" British Consul Aleppo.	
"	" Jedda.	

Local reactions to U.N. decision.

Following are the major incidents reported since yesterday.

2. A. Jerusalem District.

1. Just before midnight on 21st December a police patrol was fired upon in Sheikh Jarrah Quarter, Jerusalem, by unknown persons believed to be Arabs. Police returned the fire with no known result, but an Arab suspected of being implicated was later admitted to hospital suffering from bullet wounds.

2. In early hours of 22nd December a police car was fired at by unknown Arab and one British Constable was slightly injured.

3. Last night on the main road south of Hebron armed Arabs held up a military truck and stole two sten guns and other equipment. No casualties were caused.

B. Lydda District.

1. During morning 22nd December a Jewish bus travelling in Bat Yam area was fired upon by Arabs. The driver was slightly wounded and one passenger was killed.

2. Yesterday morning a Jewish supernumerary Police Constable at Sarafand was shot and seriously wounded by unknown Arabs who stole his rifle and ammunition.

3. Early yesterday morning a Jewish settlement policeman was shot and slightly wounded by unknown Arabs near Ben Shemen Colony.

/Copies sent to:-

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Reference:

FO 371/61796

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Copies sent to:-

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 " "
 Ministry of Defence
 Treasury
 " 23 JUL 1947
 Admiralty
 " "
 " "
 War Office
 " "
 " (M.O.4.)
 Ministry of Transport
 " "
 Air Ministry
 " "
 Foreign Office
 " "
 " "
 " "
 " "
 M.I.5.
 No. 10 Downing Street
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 " "
 War Office
 " "
 Air Ministry
 " "
 Cabinet Offices
 Foreign Office
 Ministry of Defence
 " " "
 Commonwealth Relations Office
 Ministry of Transport
 Foreign Office (Research Dept.)

- Mr. S.E.V. Luke.
- Brigadier Cornwall-Jones.
- Commander W. Evershed, R.N.
- Mr. A.J. Newling.
- Mr. D.F.C. Hunt.
- Mr. W. Russell-Essands.
- Mr. P.E.N. Synnott.
- Captain Maunsell.
- Captain D.H. Hall-Thompson.
- Mr. G.C.B. Dodds.
- Brigadier J.R.C. Hamilton.
- Brigadier L.L. Mansbrough-Jones.
- Lt.Col. H.M. Charteris.
- Mr. B.F. Picknett.
- Mr. F.C. Rennie.
- Air Commodore Brook.
- Group Captain V.H.B. Roth.
- Mr. B.A.B. Burrows.
- Mr. H. Beeley.
- Mr. J.G.S. Beith.
- P.S. to Sir Orme Sargent.
- P.S. to Foreign Secretary.
- Mr. J.C. Robertson.
- P.S. to Prime Minister.
- Private Secretary.
- Private Secretary.
- First Sea Lord.
- Private Secretary.
- C.I.G.S.
- Private Secretary.
- C.A.S.
- Sir H. Brock.
- Private Secretary.
- Private Secretary.
- Sir H. Wilson Smith.
- Private Secretary.
- Private Secretary.
- Air Commodore K.O. Buss.

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Reference: **FO 371/61796**

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E11494

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1947

PALESTINE

5 DEC

Registry Number

E11494/46(P)

FROM

Extract

No.

House of Commons

Dated

Debate

Received in Registry

3 Dec

5 -

Palestine Situation

M. Warrington-Buller opened by asking Colonial Secretary, whether he can make a statement as grave events reported in Palestine. M. Brock Jones related information to hand.
Debate continued.

Last Paper

11471

(Minutes.)

10 Dec. 5

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)

J. C. M. G. / 2

(Index)

[Handwritten signature]

Next Paper

E11502

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61796

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511494

5 DEC

EXTRACT FROM
HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES
3 DEC. 1947

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-

FO 371 / 61796

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took place in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Nazareth, Ramle, Acre, Tiberias, Beisan and Tarshiha. These disturbances, the High Commissioner informs me, were sporadic and unorganised. In Jerusalem there was mob violence directed against Jews and Jewish property. A number of shops were looted, and there were several cases of arson. Shots were fired by Jews, and possibly also by Arabs, though the latter is not certain. Hagana has been out on the streets in force, and has generally done its best to restrain the Jews from reprisals. Casualties reported are, two Jews seriously wounded, one Jew and four Arabs injured, and one Jewish and two British police injured. A number of Jews with arms were arrested during the day, two of whom had been sniping.

In Haifa, two Jews were injured by Arabs, neither seriously. In Jaffa, Arabs attacked Jewish shops, and police were compelled to make a baton charge. One British policeman was slightly injured. In Lydda, two Jewish clinics were sacked by Arabs. There were a number of cases of Arabs holding up and stoning Jewish transport in the Lydda district. These incidents resulted in one Jew being fatally injured, one Jew seriously injured, and one Jew slightly injured. A fourth Jew was injured when a bus was fired on near Ramle. Among other incidents reported was one near Roshpina, where a car containing Jewish Supplementary Police was held up and stoned by Arabs. Jews fired warning shots and escaped injury. Subsequently, an Arab was found dead in the vicinity, and an injured Jew named as his assailant was found in a nearby colony. He claimed to have been beaten by Arabs. I should add that the Palestine Government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order until the Mandate is finally surrendered, and will continue to take all possible steps to preserve order and to prevent such tragic and unhappy conflicts. The Arab leaders in Palestine are fully informed of this.

Mr. Manningham-Buller: While I thank the right hon. Gentleman for the statement which he has made, may I ask him if he will pay tribute to the conduct of the British troops and Palestine Police in these most distressing and difficult circumstances; have they not done all that it lay within their power to do to keep order?

PALESTINE (DISTURBANCES)

Mr. Manningham-Buller (*by Private Notice*) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can make a statement with regard to the grave events reported in Palestine.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (**Mr. Creech Jones**): I have not received complete reports yet on recent events in Palestine, but the High Commissioner has already briefly reported incidents on 2nd December, when Arab demonstrations

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 Reference: **FO 371/61796**

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Mr. Creech Jones: Yes, Sir. The Government, of course, would wholeheartedly associate themselves with the sentiments expressed by the hon. and learned Member. I hope shortly to make a statement in regard to Palestine, and then I can say something about the excellent work which the Police and the Service have performed.

Mr. H. Hynd: In these new circumstances, is Hagana getting every facility to maintain order, including the right to bear arms?

Mr. Creech Jones: That is a point which can be put to me when I make a statement a little later on.

Mr. Thurtle: In view of the exacerbation of feeling which has taken place as a result of the United Nations organisation's decision in favour of partition, can my right hon. Friend say how long he proposes to maintain British soldiers in Palestine in order to keep the peace between the two races?

Mr. Creech Jones: The British Government will be responsible for law and order until the Mandate is surrendered. The British troops will be withdrawn, and we hope that the final withdrawal will be by 1st August of next year.

Sir R. Glyn: Can the right hon. Gentleman state if any special constables are being enlisted to assist the Palestine Police; and, if so, whether they are being drawn equally from Arabs and Jews, and not only from one side?

Mr. Creech Jones: Some steps are being taken to augment the existing arrangements for the preservation of law and order. However, I would prefer to cover that point in the statement which I make on behalf of the Government some time very soon.

Sir R. Glyn: Does not the right hon. Gentleman realise that if there is any misapprehension that special facilities are being given to one side or the other it will increase the risk of disorder; and therefore, will his statement be made very soon?

Mr. Creech Jones: The statement will be made very soon. I fully appreciate, and so does the High Commissioner, the point which the hon. Member makes.

Mr. Thurtle: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that sometime ago his right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary said that, if a situation arose in which the United Nations organisation created a certain strong feeling between Jews and Arabs, British soldiers would not be used to keep the peace?

Mr. Creech Jones: I have made it perfectly clear that, while the British Administration is functioning in Palestine for some months ahead the British Government must remain responsible for law and order.

Air-Commodore Harvey: Are British women and children still allowed to return to Palestine to rejoin their husbands and fathers?

Mr. Creech Jones: Many women and children have returned to Palestine in recent months.

Air-Commodore Harvey: Are they still allowed to return?

Mr. Edward Davies: Can the Secretary of State inform the House what arrangements are being made to preserve the peace in Palestine after the withdrawal of British troops?

Mr. Oliver Poole: When the right hon. Gentleman makes his statement, will he pay particular attention to the employment of the Transjordan Frontier Force?

Mr. Creech Jones: That point will be covered in the statement.

Major Legge-Bourke: Can the right hon. Gentleman give an assurance that British troops have not now to wait until they are shot at before they use their own arms? May I have an answer?

Mr. Creech Jones: I should have thought that an answer was hardly necessary. The British authorities in Palestine have very definite responsibilities which they must discharge so long as the Mandate is held by Great Britain.

Mr. Warbey: Can my right hon. Friend give an assurance that His Majesty's Government will co-operate loyally with the United Nations in carrying out the decision of the General Assembly?

Hon. Members: Oh!

Mr. Creech Jones: I shall make a statement on this matter at a very early date.

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Reference:-

FO 371/61796

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1947
199 31

Palestine
EASTERN

E11502/G

E11502/46/C

Washington
6812

Dated 4 Dec
Received 5 Dec

Palestine: Dr Goldman

Last Paper.
E11458

(Minutes.)
Copy sent to Mr. Mathieson (c.o.)

References.
E10953/46/C

Please see separate minute

Huble
(S.F. CABLE)
5/12

(Print.)

Tel sent *Huble*
6/12

(How disposed of.)
8) Mr Mathieson c.o.
5 Dec
Tel) W'lon 10607
5 Dec
RPO New York 12
Jerusalem
8) Mr Mathieson c.o.
9 Dec
9) Mr Mathieson c.o.
9 Dec

See within
1. W'lon 6844 of 6 Dec.
Copy to Mr. Mathieson (c.o.)

Huble
(S.F. CABLE)
7/12
L12

(Action completed.)
25/10/12

(Index.)
W.H.

Next Paper.

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93.

Discussions with Jewish Representatives about Palestine

Washington have already been informed [our telegram No. 4157 to New York at Flag A] that the Secretary of State does not wish to have any dealings with Dr Goldman and it is somewhat surprising that they did not more positively discourage his proposal to fly to London on the 8th December.

I suggest that we should now tell Washington explicitly that the Secretary of State has no desire to see Dr Goldman and that, in our view, the time for negotiations with Jewish representatives has not yet arrived. The only negotiations on the question of Palestine now being conducted by H.M.G. are those with the United Nations Commission which is due to visit that country. In any case, when the time does come for negotiations with the Jews, these will obviously have to take place in Palestine itself.

I submit draft telegram accordingly.



(J.E. Cable)
5th December 1947

Hand I agree with the above, but have somewhat revised the draft.

The only somewhat awkward point is that we shall probably be involved in discussions with Arab representatives here, which will undoubtedly extend to Palestine. It seems important therefore to put the main emphasis on the fact that we cannot deal

here/

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Reference: **FO 371/61796**

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here with the sort of questions which Mr. Goldman raises.

The High Commissioner's telegram in E 11473/951/31 is very relevant.

J. B. ...

5th December, 1947.

midnight

E 12.

*587
Sec 5*

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Reference: **FO 371/61796**

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E115Q

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

95

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Lord Inverchapel.
No. 6812.

D. 2.04. a.m. 5th December
1947.

4th December 1947.

R. 7.35. a.m. 5th December
1947.

Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York,
Jerusalem.

IMPORTANT

SECRET

Addressed Foreign Office 6812 4/12 repeated United
Kingdom Delegation New York and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 4157 to United Kingdom Delegation
New York 1130. Palestine.

Dr. Goldman, accompanied by Mr. Epstein of the
Jewish Agency in Washington, came to see me today.
Goldman referred to the interview with the Minister of
State reported in United Kingdom Delegation New York
telegram No. 3444, and said that he had just had a
cable from Mr. Easternman in London to the effect that
you might be prepared to see him before long. He there-
fore proposed to fly to London on the 8th December.

2. He said that he wished to discuss with you, from
both the short and the long term points of view, the
future of Anglo-Jewish relations. In particular he wished
to discuss;

(A) The timetable and the geographical phases of
the British withdrawal.

(B) The handing over of a port, namely Tel Aviv,
and the Hinterland up to Petah Tikva.

(C) The possibility of allowing Haganah to be
responsible for the security, though not for the
administration, of the Tel Aviv area at an early date, in
order that experience might be obtained for the training
of the Jewish militia.

(D) The possibility of obtaining permission to

/import

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Reference: **FO 371/61796**

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import certain equipment.

3. He said that he hoped that the Jews might have a port, if not by the 1st February as proposed by the United Nations, at least very soon thereafter. Great importance was attached to immigration and if there were a possibility of securing increased immigration by March or April, he believed that illegal immigration could largely be prevented by the Jewish authorities. If no increased immigration were permitted until August 1st this would be much more difficult.

4. Goldman said that the question of permission for Haganah to be responsible for the security of the Tel Aviv area was under discussion with the British authorities in Palestine but so far as he knew no decision had yet been reached. While many Jews had received military training in the past, they would need a lot more before a militia could be established. It was in addition, very important that they should be allowed to import certain equipment which they were now seeking to obtain. They had light equipment with which they might be able to counter attacks by guerillas inside Palestine. But if they were threatened with outside intervention which he considered on the whole to be unlikely in view of the lukewarm attitude of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and certain encouraging indications as to the King Abdullah's attitude, they would need armoured cars, light tanks, heavier artillery and some anti-aircraft guns. He greatly hoped that permission would be given for such imports, since the Arab States had been receiving supplies for a long time and the Jews were at a serious disadvantage. Though they could deal with trouble inside Palestine, their situation would be precarious if an attack came from outside.

5. Goldman added that he had seen Trygve Lie yesterday. Lie's present idea was that the United Nations Commission should be constituted by the end of December and be ready to leave for Palestine about the end of January. Goldman understood that His Majesty's Government did not want the Commission to go out too soon but hoped that some of the United Nations Secretariat might nevertheless leave at an early date, since "showing the United Nations flag" might have a tranquillising effect.

6. I confined myself to listening to Goldman's remarks which he asked me to transmit to you.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 103.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for retransmission to Jerusalem.]
[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat.]

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Reference: FO 371/61796

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Registry
No.

CYPHER

97

B. A. B. B.

December 4, 1947

Despatched 11:30 P.M.

Draft.
Washington.

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Telegram.

No. 12607

Dated. Dec 5.

Addressed to Washington, ^{tel} No. 12607
of December 5th. Repeated ^{for information} to
U.K. Delegation, New York, and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 6812 [of 4th
December] Palestine

Repeat to:

U.K. Delegation,
New York. 4213.

Jerusalem

Please inform Mr. Goldman urgently
that discussions on the subjects he
mentioned will be undertaken between
Sir A. Cadogan and the United Nations
Commission or, where appropriate,
between the High Commissioner for
Palestine and Jewish representatives
in Palestine. It is definitely not
our intention to become involved in
discussions of this kind of question
here. Mr. Goldman should therefore
realise that there is no prospect of
my discussing any of these questions
with him, and in these circumstances
there seems little advantage in his
coming here now. *J. Bees*

Cypher

Diplomatic Secret

C.O. concurs.

B.A.B.B.

5.12

M. Wright

5.12.

750/p

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Cypher/OTF

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 12607
5th December, 1947

D. 11.00 p.m. 5th December, 1947

Repeated to New York (U.K. Delegation) No. 4213
Jerusalem

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Addressed to Washington telegram No. 12607 of 5th December repeated for information to United Kingdom Delegation, New York, and Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 6812 [of 4th December]. Palestine.

Please inform Mr. Goldman urgently that discussions on the subjects he mentioned will be undertaken between Sir A. Cadogan and the United Nations Commission or, where appropriate, between the High Commissioner for Palestine and Jewish representatives in Palestine. It is definitely not our intention to become involved in discussions of this kind of question here. Mr. Goldman should therefore realise that there is no prospect of my discussing any of these questions with him, and in these circumstances there seems little advantage in his coming here now.

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Lord Inverchapel
No. 6844

6th December, 1947

D. 3.43 p.m. 6th December, 1947
R. 9.05 p.m. 6th December, 1947

E 11502

18 DEC 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem and Saving United Kingdom Delegation
New York.

IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 6844 of 6th December repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to United Kingdom Delegation New York.

Your telegram No. 12607: Palestine.

Your message has been passed to Dr. Goldman who will still fly to the United Kingdom on the 8th December since he is returning to Palestine.

Foreign Office please repeat to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 104.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

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Reference: **FO 371/61796**

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<p>200</p> <p>40/17</p>	<p>INTERN</p>	<p>100</p> <p>E11565 /G</p>
<p>E 11565 /46/G</p> <p>Panama 108</p> <p>Dated 6 Dec Received 8 Dec</p>	<p>Palestine Commission</p>	
<p>Last Paper.</p>	<p>(Minutes)</p> <p>usual distribution given</p>	
<p>References.</p>	<p>18/12</p> <p>NA Dept.</p> <p>D.S. Bent Dec. 10</p>	
<p>(Print)</p>	<p>Ev on E 11634/R</p> <p>LP 4/12</p>	
<p>(How disposed of)</p>		
<p>(Action completed)</p> <p>2F 19/12</p>	<p>(Ind/x.)</p> <p>4/12</p>	
<p>Next Paper.</p>		

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Cypher/OTP

¹⁰¹
DIPLOMATIC (SECRET) ¹¹⁵⁶⁵

FROM PANAMA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Ellison
No. 108

D. 1.30 p.m. 6th December, 1947

6th December, 1947

R. 7.58 p.m. 6th December, 1947

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York

SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 108 December 6th repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York

Your telegram No. 129.

Palestine Commission.

I have conveyed your views to Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs who promised to instruct their representative at United Nations to consult and co-operate with Sir Alexander Cadogan about the date of arrival of Commission.

Foreign Office please repeat United Kingdom Delegation New York as my telegram No. 2.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York].

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Reference:-

FO 371 / 61796

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E.11176/46/G.
Top Secret.
Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC SECRET DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO:

COPENHAGEN	NO. 612
MANILA	NO. 267
PANAMA	NO. 129
PRAGUE	NO. 1262
LA PAZ	NO. 80

December 3rd, 1947. 2.55.p.m. December 3rd, 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York No. 4185,
Washington No. 12471,
Jerusalem.

Immediate.
Top Secret.

Addressed to Copenhagen telegram No. 612 of 3rd December 1947, and to Manila, Panama, Prague, La Paz, repeated for information to United Kingdom Delegation, New York, and Washington and Jerusalem.

Palestine.

I am repeating to you telegrams Nos. 4125 and 4126 to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York, about the British plan for withdrawal and the arrival of a United Nations Commission. You will observe that it is desirable that the Commission should not arrive in Palestine until shortly before the date proposed for the termination of British Civil Administration in May.

2. Please explain the position of His Majesty's Government in confidence to the Government to which you are accredited and request them, in view of the importance of maintaining peaceful conditions during the transitional period of withdrawal in Palestine, to instruct their representatives at the United Nations to cooperate to the fullest possible extent with Sir A. Cadogan in working out the plans of the new Commission, on which they are to be represented.

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Palestine
EASTERN

E11568 /G
8 Dec 1947

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E11568 /46/C
F.O. Min
Mr Burrows
Dated 3 Dec
Received 8 Dec

Withdrawal from Palestine
Attache CP (47) 320.

Last Paper
E11565

(Minutes)

References

~~Mr Burrows~~

J.P.S.

13.2

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action completed) 25/12
(Index) W.P.

Next Paper

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- 8 DEC 1947

Minutes.

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I understand that C.P. (47) 320 (Flag C) was generally approved by the Cabinet this morning and that the Secretary of State wishes a telegram sent to Sir A. Cadogan in consequence. A draft is attached.

sent

The Secretary of State and Colonial Secretary agreed at their last conversation that at the same time as this was done the Arab Governments should be generally informed of the outline of our plans and I also attach a draft telegram for this purpose. I have added drafts to Amman and Bagdad dealing with particular points which concern them.

sent

Colonial office and L/C Stapleton
(on behalf of C.O.S.) concur in the tel. to
New York & Arab posts
RAB Burrows
4th December, 1947.

Midnight
4.12

RJ Dec 4

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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C.P. (47) 320: Palestine.

There is not much to add to the paper.

From our point of view, the essence of the question is that we should be able to complete our withdrawal from Palestine according to plan without becoming involved in repressive measures which will endanger our position throughout the Middle East. Everything must be subordinated to this requirement, even if it involves an appearance of non-cooperation with the United Nations. The Arab disorders which have already broken out, though they should perhaps not at this stage be taken too seriously, add point to this argument. The High Commissioner for Palestine has just confirmed that in his view trouble will start on the Commission's arrival.

Mention could if necessary be made of the fact that we have sent a message to Arab Governments expressing the hope that they will fully honour the assurances they have given us that they will not cause trouble while we are still in Palestine. We are enlisting American help in attempts to maintain the status quo as regards immigration.

3rd December, 1947.

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TOP SECRET

Copy No. 7

106

C.P.(47) 320

3RD DECEMBER, 1947

CABINET

PALESTINE

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for
Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State
for the Colonies

1. RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) His Majesty's Government should take note of the United Nations recommendation in favour of the partition of Palestine. They should do nothing to obstruct the implementation of this recommendation by the United Nations, but British troops and the British administration should in no circumstances become involved in enforcing the decision or in maintaining law and order while the United Nations Commission implement it.

(2) The plan of withdrawal of British forces and administration at Annex B should be adopted, involving the termination of British civil administration by 15th May and the completion of withdrawal by 1st August, 1948.

(3) Since the sharing of authority between the Palestine Government and the United Nations Commission would be intolerable, and since the arrival of the Commission would probably provoke Arab disturbances, thus upsetting our withdrawal plan and endangering our whole position in the Middle East, we should do all in our power to arrange its arrival in Palestine at the time when we are ready to hand over to it, i.e. 1st May. Sir Alexander Cadogan should negotiate with the Commission for this purpose.

(4) Sir Alexander Cadogan will also have to negotiate with the Commission on various other matters connected with the handover of authority, including financial matters.

(5) So long as we are administratively responsible, we should make every practical effort to maintain control over immigration, even though it may not be possible effectively to limit it after 1st February.

(6) If the maintenance of the present quota should prove impracticable the first step should be to move the illegal immigrants now in Cyprus, who should in any event be transferred to Palestine before our evacuation is complete.

(7) The necessary sanction should be given for legislation by Act of Parliament and Orders in Council.

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2. United Nations Decision

The General Assembly of the United Nations has approved by the requisite two-thirds majority a recommendation to His Majesty's Government and the other United Nations that Palestine should be divided into two independent States, one Jewish and the other Arab, with a Joint Economic Board to link the financial and economic systems of the two States. The text of the most important part of the recommendations is given at Annex A. Other parts deal with boundaries and the city of Jerusalem. The boundaries between the two States represent on the whole acceptance of Jewish claims. Each State consists of three separate areas joined with each other by narrow corridors. The Jewish State has a very large Arab minority. The Arab State has a very small Jewish minority. Jerusalem is to be a separate territory under the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

3. One of the most important parts of the recommendations is the establishment of a United Nations Commission consisting of five representatives (Czechoslovakia, Panama, Bolivia, Denmark, Philippines). The Commission will assume authority in Palestine as we give it up and will be responsible for setting up provisional councils of Government in each state and establishing the boundaries. If they are unable to set up the provisional councils by 1st April they are to refer back to the Security Council.

4. Jewish and Arab reactions

The Jews have warmly welcomed the recommendation and will clearly give their full co-operation to the United Nations Commission in setting up the Jewish State. The Arab States have refused to recognise the United Nations recommendation and are expected not to co-operate in any way with the United Nations Commission. They have for some time been threatening to take military action in Palestine and to incite disturbances there. They profess not to intend to start any trouble while the British administration is still in Palestine. The Mufti will however no doubt do his best to stir up trouble both in Palestine and outside.

5. This being the Arab attitude, it is difficult to see how an Arab State can be set up as recommended by the United Nations. The Arabs - both Arab Governments and Palestinian Arabs - are themselves divided and there will be various claims to the Arab areas of Palestine. There is very little prospect of the Arabs being willing to co-operate in working the Joint Economic Board. This might have an important effect on the economy of the whole country.

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6. Attitude of His Majesty's Government at United Nations

The United Kingdom representatives at the United Nations, while assisting the respective Committees with factual information, have consistently taken the line that we would not comment on the substance of the partition proposal or any other proposal which was before the Assembly. Our position as regards the enforcement of this or any other settlement was, however, made abundantly clear as follows :-

(a) We would not be responsible for enforcing a settlement which was not agreed by both Jews and Arabs.

(b) If invited to participate with other United Nations in enforcing a settlement which was not agreed by Jews and Arabs, we would decide according to our idea of the justice of the settlement and the difficulty of enforcing it. (Repeated efforts have been made during the discussions at the United Nations to involve us in the implementation of United Nations recommendations. All such attempts have been resisted as this would have involved us in assuming the major role and the settlement in fact recommended is manifestly most unpopular with one of the parties.)

(c) We would in any case, failing Jewish-Arab agreement, withdraw from Palestine by 1st August, 1948.

(d) In the course of our withdrawal, our troops and administration could not be used to enforce a United Nations settlement which was not agreed by both Jews and Arabs or to support a United Nations Commission in enforcing it.

7. This neutral policy is amply justified on two main grounds :-

(a) We have tried on numerous occasions in the past to put forward solutions for the settlement of Palestine. Each one has been rejected by one side or the other, or both. We have been suspected of ulterior aims in Palestine. If we had now associated ourselves with any positive proposal, we should have diverted on to ourselves the opposition and resistance of one or both of the parties.

(b) We undertook in the mandate to establish in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people on the clear understanding that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. It has proved impossible to reconcile these two objectives and we are therefore justified in laying down the mandate, which has proved unworkable. We did not undertake in the mandate to establish a Jewish or Arab State by force or to coerce either party in the interests of the other. If we were to undertake it, or to be associated in any way with the enforcement of a settlement as unpopular with one of the parties as that now recommended by the United Nations, the whole responsibility would fall on us, as the only armed forces on the spot are ours. It would thus clearly be against our interests to become involved in major repressive actions in Palestine, which would most seriously affect our whole political, strategical and economic situation throughout the Middle East and the Moslem world.

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8. Withdrawal of British forces

In this situation the Chiefs of Staff were asked to suggest a plan for withdrawing British forces in as short a time as possible and on the basis of withdrawal being complete by 1st August. They have recommended the plan shown in Annex B, which is now put forward for the endorsement of the Cabinet. The plan provides for the evacuation of essential stores and of the greatest possible quantity of other stores, but some 150,000 tons of less essential stores will have to be left behind. Efforts will naturally be made to arrange with the successor authorities that we shall be able to remove or dispose of the stores left in Palestine after our withdrawal. This plan has been endorsed by the Defence Committee.

9. The interim period

Military and administrative necessities make it most desirable that we should maintain administrative responsibility for Palestine until about 15th May; otherwise we should be undertaking a precipitate movement involving a still greater loss of stores than will in any case be inevitable. It would be an intolerable situation if our Palestine Government were asked to share its authority with a United Nations Commission. We must therefore make every effort to prevent the latter trying to set up its authority until we are ready to hand over, i.e. about 1st May (allowing a fortnight for the hand-over process). Moreover, it should be our object, during the period while we are administratively responsible, to maintain the status quo so far as possible (though some increase in immigration may be inevitable) and to do everything within our power to prevent the outbreak of disturbances. We have received assurances from Arab spokesmen that they do not intend to make trouble while we are still in charge and we have sent Arab Governments a message expressing the hope that these assurances will be fully honoured. It seems likely, however, that the arrival of the United Nations Commission would provoke serious disturbances among the Arabs, even if we were still in control of the administration. This is therefore another very strong reason for arranging the assumption of authority by the Commission and its arrival in Palestine at a time in conformity with the British withdrawal plan.

10. Negotiations with the United Nations Commission

In view of the preceding paragraph, the primary object of these negotiations must be to arrange for the arrival of the United Nations Commission in Palestine at a time most suitable to our requirements. Sir Alexander Cadogan should accordingly be instructed to negotiate with the United Nations and to make every effort to ensure that the plans of the Commission fit in with ours, i.e. that they only arrive in Palestine just before we are ready to hand over to them. (This will involve inter alia a modification of the recommendation that the Commission should report back to the Security Council if it has not been able to set up provisional councils of government by 1st April). All possible diplomatic action with the countries represented on the Commission, the U.S.A. and the Dominions will be taken in support.

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11. Sir Alexander Cadogan will also have to undertake negotiations with the Commission on a number of matters connected with the handing over of authority, including particularly a suggestion that a Jewish area should be evacuated at an early stage, and the disposal of assets. On the latter point, it is clear that Palestine's liquid assets will not be sufficient to meet all current liabilities - in particular, provision of pensions for Government servants. Our attitude should be that the United Nations Commission and the successor Governments should automatically honour any obligation assumed by the Palestine Government at any time before its termination and that our agreement to surrender the assets should be conditional on this.

12. Illegal Immigration

The Commanders-in-Chief, Middle East, have stated that they would be unable to maintain preventive measures in Palestine against illegal immigration after 1st February, 1948. The Defence Committee recognised that the Army could not be expected to play a part in controlling illegal immigration after that date, but agreed that, so long as His Majesty's Government remained responsible for the mandate, it would be right to continue such preventive measures as were possible outside Palestine, including, if practicable, the interception and diversion of ships by the Royal Navy. The Committee also agreed that no announcement should be made to suggest that there had been any change of policy. At an earlier meeting (D.O.(47) 23rd Meeting) Ministers had agreed that it was essential that the illegal immigrants now detained in Cyprus should be removed from British territory before completion of the withdrawal. If the maintenance of the present quota up to 1st May should prove impracticable the first step should be to remove the illegal immigrants now in Cyprus. Recommendations for carrying out this policy will shortly be submitted in the light inter alia of the United Nations recommendation that a port should be evacuated before 1st February, 1948, to provide facilities for a substantial immigration.

13. United Kingdom legislation

On the relinquishment of the mandate, the present Palestine Government should be terminated and all jurisdiction of His Majesty in Palestine should cease. Legislation which confers power or imposes duties on His Majesty's Government or on the Government of Palestine must be revoked and some adaptation will be required in Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council in relation to Palestine. Legislation in the United Kingdom, both by Order in Council and by Act of Parliament, will be necessary to achieve the above purposes. If the date proposed for the termination of the mandate is adhered to, it may be possible to pass the necessary Act before that date. If this cannot be done, it will be necessary to deal with such points as are possible by Order in Council before the termination of the mandate and subsequently complete the legislation by the passing of an Act. We seek authority to instruct the Parliamentary Counsel to prepare the legislation required in either event.

E.B.
A.C.J.

3rd December, 1947.

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ANNEX A

PLAN OF PARTITION WITH ECONOMIC UNION

PART I.—FUTURE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE

A.—*Termination of Mandate, Partition and Independence*

1. The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1st August, 1948.

2. The armed forces of the Mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1st August, 1948.

The Mandatory Power shall advise the Commission, as far in advance as possible, of its intention to terminate the Mandate and to evacuate each area.

The Mandatory Power shall use its best endeavours to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1st February, 1948.

3. Independent Arab and Jewish States and Special International Régime for the City of Jerusalem, set forth in Part III of this Plan, shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the Mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than 1st October, 1948. The boundaries of the Arab State, the Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem shall be as described in Parts II and III below.

4. The period between the adoption by the General Assembly of its recommendations on the question of Palestine and the establishment of the independence of the Arab and Jewish States shall be a transitional period.

B.—*Steps Preparatory to Independence*

1. A Commission shall be set up consisting of one representative of each of five Member States. The Members represented on the Commission shall be elected by the General Assembly on as broad a basis, geographically and otherwise, as possible.

2. The administration of Palestine shall, as the Mandatory Power withdraws its armed forces, be progressively turned over to the Commission which shall act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council. The Mandatory Power shall to the fullest possible extent co-ordinate its plans for withdrawal with the plans of the Commission to take over and administer areas which have been evacuated.

In the discharge of this administrative responsibility the Commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required.

The Mandatory Power shall not take any action to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly.

3. On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the general lines of the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine. Nevertheless, the boundaries as described in Part II of this Plan are to be modified in such a way that village areas as a rule will not be divided by State boundaries unless pressing reasons make that necessary.

4. The Commission, after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organisations of the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State as rapidly as possible a Provisional Council of Government. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission.

If by 1st April, 1948, a Provisional Council of Government cannot be selected for either of the States, or, if selected, cannot carry out its functions, the Commission shall communicate that fact to the Security Council for such action with respect to that State as the Security Council may deem proper, and to the Secretary-General for communication to the Members of the United Nations.

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5. Subject to the provisions of these recommendations, during the transitional period the Provisional Councils of Government, acting under the Commission, shall have full authority in the areas under their control, including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.

6. The Provisional Council of Government of each State, acting under the Commission, shall progressively receive from the Commission full responsibility for the administration of that State in the period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the States' independence.

7. The Commission shall instruct the Provisional Councils of Government of both the Arab and Jewish States, after their formation, to proceed to the establishment of administrative organs of Government, central and local.

8. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, within the shortest time possible, recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State, sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes.

This armed militia in each State shall, for operational purposes, be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State, but general political and military control, including the choice of the militia's High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.

9. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the Mandatory Power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines.

The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are: (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that State and (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the State, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State.

Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish States respectively.

Women may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies.

During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab State, and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State, except by special leave of the Commission.

10. The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic Constitution for its State and choose a provisional government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The Constitutions of the States shall embody chapters 1 and 2 of the Declaration provided for in Section C below and include *inter alia* provisions for:—

- (a) Establishing in each State a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation, and an executive body responsible to the legislature.
- (b) Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
- (c) Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.
- (d) Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association.
- (e) Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other State in Palestine and the City of Jerusalem, subject to considerations of national security, provided that each State shall control residence within its borders.

11. The Commission shall appoint a Preparatory Economic Commission of three members to make whatever arrangements are possible for economic co-operation, with a view to establishing, as soon as practicable, the Economic Union and the Joint Economic Board, as provided in Section D below.

12. During the period between the adoption of the recommendations on the question of Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the Mandate, the Mandatory Power in Palestine shall maintain full responsibility for

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administration in areas from which it has not withdrawn its armed forces. The Commission shall assist the Mandatory Power in the carrying out of these functions. Similarly, the Mandatory Power shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its functions.

13. With a view to ensuring that there shall be continuity in the functioning of administrative services and that, on the withdrawal of the armed forces of the Mandatory Power, the whole administration shall be in the charge of the Provisional Councils and the Joint Economic Board, respectively, acting under the Commission, there shall be a progressive transfer, from the Mandatory Power to the Commission, of responsibility for all the functions of government, including that of maintaining law and order in the areas from which the forces of the Mandatory Power have been withdrawn.

14. The Commission shall be guided in its activities by the recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions as the Security Council may consider necessary to issue.

The measures taken by the Commission, within the recommendations of the General Assembly, shall become immediately effective unless the Commission has previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council.

The Commission shall render periodic monthly progress reports, or more frequently if desirable, to the Security Council.

15. The Commission shall make its final report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council simultaneously.

C.—Declaration

1. A Declaration shall be made to the United Nations by the Provisional Government of each proposed State before independence. It shall contain *inter alia* the following clauses:—

General provision

The stipulations contained in the Declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the State and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Chapter 1.—*Holy Places, religious buildings and sites*

1. Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

2. In so far as Holy Places are concerned, the liberty of access, visit and transit shall be guaranteed, in conformity with existing rights, to all residents and citizens of the other State and of the City of Jerusalem, as well as to aliens, without distinction as to nationality, subject to requirements of national security, public order and decorum.

Similarly, freedom of worship shall be guaranteed in conformity with existing rights, subject to the maintenance of public order and decorum.

3. Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Government that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Government may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Government may carry it out itself at the expense of the community or communities concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

4. No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the State.

No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

5. The Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall have the right to determine whether the provisions of the Constitution of the State in relation to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the State and the religious rights appertaining thereto, are being properly applied and respected, and to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community with respect to such Places, buildings and sites. He shall receive full co-operation

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and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in the State.

Chapter 2.—*Religious and minority rights*

1. Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be ensured to all.

2. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the ground of race, religion, language or sex.

3. All persons within the jurisdiction of the State shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.

4. The family law and personal status of the various minorities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

5. Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.

6. The State shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish minority respectively, in its own language and its cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

7. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any citizen of the State of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.*

8. No expropriation of land owned by an Arab in the Jewish State (by a Jew in the Arab State)† shall be allowed except for public purposes. In all cases of expropriation full compensation as fixed by the Supreme Court shall be paid previous to dispossession.

Chapter 3.—*Citizenship, international conventions and financial obligations*

1. *Citizenship*

Palestinian citizens residing in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem, as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the State in which they are resident and enjoy full civil and political rights. Persons over the age of eighteen years may opt within one year from the date of recognition of independence of the State in which they reside for citizenship of the other State, providing that no Arab residing in the area of the proposed Arab State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Jewish State and no Jew residing in the proposed Jewish State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Arab State. The exercise of this right of option will be taken to include the wives and children under eighteen years of age of persons so opting.

Arabs residing in the area of the proposed Jewish State and Jews residing in the area of the proposed Arab State who have signed a notice of intention to opt for citizenship of the other State shall be eligible to vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of that State, but not in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of the State in which they reside.

2. *International conventions*

(a) The State shall be bound by all the international agreements and conventions, both general and special, to which Palestine has become a party. Subject to any right of denunciation provided for therein, such agreements and conven-

* The following stipulation shall be added to the Declaration concerning the Jewish State: "In the Jewish State adequate facilities shall be given to Arabic-speaking citizens for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, in the legislature, before the Courts and in the administration."

† In the Declaration concerning the Arab State, the words "by an Arab in the Jewish State" should be replaced by the words "by a Jew in the Arab State."

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tions shall be respected by the State throughout the period for which they were concluded.

(b) Any dispute about the applicability and continued validity of international conventions or treaties signed or adhered to by the Mandatory Power on behalf of Palestine shall be referred to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

3. *Financial obligations*

(a) The State shall respect and fulfil all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the Mandatory Power during the exercise of the Mandate and recognised by the State. This provision includes the right of public servants to pensions, compensation or gratuities.

(b) These obligations shall be fulfilled through participation in the Joint Economic Board in respect of those obligations applicable to Palestine as a whole, and individually in respect of those applicable to, and fairly apportionable between, the States.

(c) A Court of Claims, affiliated with the Joint Economic Board, and composed of one member appointed by the United Nations, one representative of the United Kingdom, and one representative of the State concerned, should be established. Any dispute between the United Kingdom and the State respecting claims not recognised by the latter should be referred to that Court.

(d) Commercial concessions granted in respect of any part of Palestine prior to the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly shall continue to be valid according to their terms, unless modified by agreement between the concession holder and the State.

Chapter 4.—*Miscellaneous provisions*

1. The provisions of chapters 1 and 2 of the Declaration shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Any Member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations, and the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances.

2. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of this Declaration shall be referred, at the request of either Party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the Parties agree to another mode of settlement.

D.—*Economic Union and Transit*

1. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall enter into an Undertaking with respect to Economic Union and Transit. This Undertaking shall be drafted by the Commission provided for in Section B, paragraph 1, utilising to the greatest possible extent the advice and co-operation of representative organisations and bodies from each of the proposed States. It shall contain provisions to establish the Economic Union of Palestine and provide for other matters of common interest. If by 1st April, 1948, the Provisional Councils of Government have not entered into the Undertaking, the Undertaking shall be put into force by the Commission.

The Economic Union of Palestine

2. The objectives of the Economic Union of Palestine shall be :—

- (a) A customs union.
- (b) A joint currency system providing for a single foreign exchange rate.
- (c) Operation in the common interest on a non-discriminatory basis of railways, inter-State highways, postal, telephone and telegraphic services, and ports and airports involved in international trade and commerce.
- (d) Joint economic development, especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation.
- (e) Access for both States and for the City of Jerusalem on a non-discriminatory basis to water and power facilities.

3. There shall be established a Joint Economic Board, which shall consist of three representatives of each of the two States and three foreign members

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appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The foreign members shall be appointed in the first instance for a term of three years; they shall serve as individuals and not as representatives of States.

4. The functions of the Joint Economic Board shall be to implement either directly or by delegation the measures necessary to realise the objectives of the Economic Union. It shall have all powers of organisation and administration necessary to fulfil its functions.

5. The States shall bind themselves to put into effect the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The Board's decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

6. In the event of failure of a State to take the necessary action the Board may, by a vote of six members, decide to withhold an appropriate portion of that part of the customs revenue to which the State in question is entitled under the Economic Union. Should the State persist in its failure to co-operate, the Board may decide by a simple majority vote upon such further sanctions, including disposition of funds which it has withheld, as it may deem appropriate.

7. In relation to economic development, the functions of the Board shall be the planning, investigation and encouragement of joint development projects, but it shall not undertake such projects except with the assent of both States and the City of Jerusalem, in the event that Jerusalem is directly involved in the development project.

8. In regard to the joint currency system the currencies circulating in the two States and the City of Jerusalem shall be issued under the authority of the Joint Economic Board, which shall be the sole issuing authority and which shall determine the reserves to be held against such currencies.

9. So far as is consistent with 2 (b) above, each State may operate its own central bank, control its own fiscal and credit policy, its foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, the grant of import licences, and may conduct international financial operations on its own faith and credit. During the first two years after the termination of the mandate, the Joint Economic Board shall have the authority to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that, to the extent that the total foreign exchange revenues of the two States from the export of goods and services permit, and provided that each State takes appropriate measures to conserve its own foreign exchange resources, each State shall have available, in any twelve months' period, foreign exchange sufficient to assure the supply of quantities of imported goods and services for consumption in its territory equivalent to the quantities of such goods and services consumed in that territory in the twelve months' period ending 31st December, 1947.

10. All economic authority not specifically vested in the Joint Economic Board is reserved to each State.

11. There shall be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the States, and between the States and the City of Jerusalem.

12. The tariff schedules shall be drawn up by a Tariff Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the States in equal numbers, and shall be submitted to the Joint Economic Board for approval by a majority vote. In case of disagreement in the Tariff Commission, the Joint Economic Board shall arbitrate the points of difference. In the event that the Tariff Commission fails to draw up any schedule by a date to be fixed, the Joint Economic Board shall determine the tariff schedule.

13. The following items shall be a first charge on the customs and other common revenue of the Joint Economic Board:—

- (a) The expenses of the customs service and of the operation of the joint services.
- (b) The administrative expenses of the Joint Economic Board.
- (c) The financial obligations of the Administration of Palestine consisting of:—
 - (i) The service of the outstanding public debt.
 - (ii) The cost of superannuation benefits, now being paid or falling due in the future, in accordance with the rules and to the extent established by paragraph 3 of Chapter 3 above.

14. After these obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent. and not more than 10 per cent. to the City of Jerusalem; the residue shall be allocated to each State by the Joint Economic Board equitably, with the objective of maintaining a sufficient and suitable level of government and social services in each State, except that the share of either State shall not exceed the amount of that State's contribution to the revenues of the Economic

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Union by more than approximately £4 million in any year. The amount granted may be adjusted by the Board according to the price level in relation to the prices prevailing at the time of the establishment of the Union. After five years, the principles of the distribution of the joint revenues may be revised by the Joint Economic Board on a basis of equity.

15. All international conventions and treaties affecting customs tariffs rates and those communications services under the jurisdiction of the Joint Economic Board shall be entered into by both States. In these matters the two States shall be bound to act in accordance with the majority vote of the Joint Economic Board.

16. The Joint Economic Board shall endeavour to secure for Palestine's exports fair and equal access to world markets.

17. All enterprises operated by the Joint Economic Board shall pay fair wages on a uniform basis.

Freedom of transit and visit

18. The Undertaking shall contain provisions preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents or citizens of both States and of the City of Jerusalem, subject to security considerations; provided that each State and the City shall control residence within their borders.

Termination, modification and interpretation of the Undertaking

19. The Undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall remain in force for a period of ten years. It shall continue in force until notice of termination, to take effect ten years thereafter, is given by either of the Parties.

20. During the initial ten-year period, the Undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom may not be modified except by consent of both Parties and with the approval of the General Assembly.

21. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of the Undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall be referred, at the request of either Party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the Parties agree to another mode of settlement.

E.—Assets

1. The movable assets of the Administration of Palestine shall be allocated to the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem on an equitable basis. Allocations should be made by the United Nations Commission referred to in Section B, paragraph 1, above. Immovable assets shall become the property of the Government of the territory in which they are situated.

2. During the period between the appointment of the United Nations Commission and the termination of the Mandate, the Mandatory Power shall, except in respect of ordinary operations, consult with the Commission on any measure which it may contemplate involving the liquidation, disposal or encumbering of the assets of the Palestine Government, such as the accumulated treasury surplus, the proceeds of Government bond issues, State lands or any other asset.

F.—Admission to Membership in the United Nations

When the independence of either the Arab or the Jewish State as envisaged in this Plan has become effective and the Declaration and Undertaking, as envisaged in this Plan, have been signed by either of them, sympathetic consideration should be given to its application for admission to membership in the United Nations in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations.

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ANNEX B

Plan for withdrawal from Palestine recommended
by the Chiefs of Staff

1. We feel that the first principle of this evacuation is to treat it as a normal military withdrawal based upon a series of clear cut backward moves. Once an area has been evacuated it will not be reoccupied. In this way any likely Arab follow up in Arab areas has least chance of clashes with our troops. Bearing in mind long term future relations, this is very important. Naturally it is not possible for fighting troops to prepare for and conduct clear cut backward moves so long as they are employed assisting the civil government to maintain law and order and guarding stores. Therefore throughout the plan fighting troops are relieved of these two tasks and then given a short time to poise themselves before withdrawal.

2. Evacuation of the armed forces will be carried out in accordance with a geographically phased programme which is broadly:

Phase I. Gaza civil district including R.A.F.A.H. will be evacuated by 29th February.

Phase II. Jerusalem, Lydda and part of Samaria by 31st May.

Phase III. Remainder of Samaria and Galilee by 30th June.

Phase IV. An enclave around Haifa which does not entirely conform with the civil district by 31st July.

3. In Phase I the civil authorities intend preceding the military by a short time, but if the situation is sufficiently quiet they will remain behind. In Phase II the Central Government may have to leave Jerusalem before the fighting troops, say mid-May, and in this event would be incapable of fulfilling the functions of Civil Government. If the security situation allows, it might be possible for the Civil Government to remain in Jerusalem for a few weeks longer. Thereafter certain civil administrative staffs as required will remain in areas still occupied by troops and will give all assistance constitutionally possible to the military authority who will control occupied areas only to the extent that is required for the efficient conduct of withdrawal.

4. The military authorities will restrict demands upon rail movement and port facilities to avoid disrupting the trade and economy of the country, particularly the citrus trade, throughout the period of evacuation.

5. Within the limitations of paragraph five the greatest quantity possible of stores of all three services will be evacuated through Haifa and by land to Egypt. No stores of military value will be disposed of in Palestine but will be destroyed if they cannot be evacuated before the fighting troops.

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withdraw. Evacuation of stores will start on 1st December. Even so and assuming most favourable conditions this will mean the complete loss of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand tons of useful service stores as a rough estimate.

6. Evacuation of troops will be conditioned firstly by the rate at which Palestine can reduce its fighting strength and secondly by the rate and manner in which it will be possible to dispose of units released. Troops such as 6th Airborne Division which are leaving M.E.L.F. will move first. Troops which are going into existing accommodation in M.E.L.F. will move second. Troops such as 1st Infantry Division which are moving mainly to Libya where accommodation will not be ready until June will move third. Evacuation of troops in these three phases will start rather slowly in February and increase gradually until final evacuation.

7. The Royal Navy and R.A.F. will conform with the general plan in four to seven above.

8. H.Q. Palestine will remain the controlling Land Force Headquarters until the end and after leaving Jerusalem is likely to move straight to Haifa. H.Q. R.A.F. will conform.

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		Palestine	E11543 /G
		EASTERN	187
202 31			
E11543 /46/C		Withdrawal of British authority from Palestine	
Cabinet conclusions (47) 93 Min 1		S	
dated 4 Dec Received 8 Dec			
Last Paper E11568		(Minutes)	
References E11568/46/C		See within: A) C.R.O. Command. (Tel) No 955 of 7/12	
(Print)		GAB 3/5/52	
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Next Paper			

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Reference: **FO 371/61796**

8 DEC 1947

E
Cabinet conclusions (47) 93rd Mtg

E11543

Index

4 Dec 1947

PALESTINE

(Previous Reference: C.M.(47) 90th Conclusions, Minute 2)

1) Mr. Wright 5.12
2) Eastern Dept.

1. The Cabinet considered a memorandum by the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary of State for the Colonies (C.P.(47) 320) on the withdrawal of British authority from Palestine.

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The memorandum recommended that His Majesty's Government should do nothing to obstruct the carrying out of the United Nations decision in favour of the partition of Palestine, but that British troops and the British administration should in no circumstances become involved in enforcing that decision, or in maintaining law and order while the United Nations Commission enforced it. It was suggested that the withdrawal of British forces and administration should be carried out in accordance with the plan summarised in Annex B of C.P.(47) 320. This would mean that the civil administration would be terminated by 15th May, 1948, and the withdrawal completed by 1st August, 1948. No feasible arrangement could be made for the division of authority between the Palestine Government and the United Nations Commission: indeed, even the arrival of the Commission would probably provoke Arab disturbances on a scale which would seriously affect the withdrawal plan and endanger the whole British position in the Middle East. Everything possible should therefore be done to ensure that the arrival of the Commission was delayed at least until the beginning of May, by which time authority could be transferred without prejudice to the withdrawal plan; and the United Kingdom representative on the Security Council should be instructed to negotiate with the Commission accordingly. He would also have to negotiate with the Commission on financial, economic and other matters connected with the transfer of authority. Although it would not be possible to maintain preventive measures in Palestine against illegal immigration after 1st February, every effort should be made, so long as His Majesty's Government remained responsible for the administration of the territory, to check this traffic by measures taken outside Palestine. If the maintenance of the present immigration quota should prove impracticable, the first step should be to remove the legal immigrants now in Cyprus, who should in any event be transferred to Palestine before the completion of evacuation. Parliamentary Counsel should be instructed to prepare the legislation which would be necessary on the relinquishment of the Mandate.

In discussion the following points were made:-

(a) THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that negotiations would have to take place with the United Nations Commission on some complex financial and economic questions, such as the exclusion of Palestine from the sterling area on the termination of the British administration. The United Kingdom representative at the United Nations should be informed that instructions on these questions would be sent to him as soon as possible, and that expert

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assistance for the negotiations would, if necessary, be provided for him. In the first instance, the Overseas Negotiations Committee should prepare a comprehensive paper for consideration by Ministers.

(b) THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE said that paragraph 1(4) of C.P.(47) 320 should be expanded to indicate the importance attached by His Majesty's Government to the negotiation with the United Nations Commission of suitable arrangements for the custody or disposal of Service stores left in Palestine after our withdrawal.

It was agreed that this matter should also be dealt with in the paper to be prepared by the Overseas Negotiations Committee.

(c) The Cabinet were informed that every effort would be made by the Navy to maintain preventive measures against illegal immigrants after 1st February, and that it was hoped that the trans-shipment of illegal immigrants, for transfer to Cyprus, could be managed without military assistance. These arrangements would not, however, be effective if the traffic became heavy.

(d) Some doubt was felt whether the local military authorities in Palestine would be competent to make a correct selection of stores for evacuation in the light of the general supply position and of needs elsewhere. It was agreed that, in view of the magnitude of the task, it would be advisable to make a special appointment for the specific purpose of supervising the collection and evacuation of military stores from Palestine.

(e) Would the United Nations Commission have the legal powers to assume responsibility for matters, such as the maintenance of contracts, which His Majesty's Government would wish to transfer to them in due course? It was pointed out that this question had been raised during the discussions in New York, and that the General Assembly had considered that the Commission would possess the necessary powers. The Commission would have the right to invoke the assistance of the Security Council.

The Cabinet -

- (1) Endorsed the recommendations made in C.P.(47) 320 on future policy in Palestine, and approved those recommendations as a basis for the negotiations with the United Nations Commission to be undertaken by the United Kingdom representative at the United Nations;
- (2) Invited the Minister of Defence to arrange for a special appointment to be made for supervision of the collection and evacuation of military stores from Palestine.

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With the Compliments of the
Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth
Relations.

9 DEC 1947

sent with
E 123

(This is an unparaphrased version of a Secret cypher (typex) message and the text must first be paraphrased if it is essential to communicate it to persons outside British and United States Government Services.)

OUTWARD TELEGRAM FROM COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE.

CYPHER (TYPEX)

R.D.

TO: CANADA (GOVT.)
AUSTRALIA "
NEW ZEALAND "
SOUTH AFRICA "
INDIA "
PAKISTAN "

11573/46/9

(Sent 3.00 p.m. 7th Dec., 1947.)

D. No. 955
India No. 14539 } SECRET.
Pakistan No. 14540 }

PALESTINE.

Cabinet have considered position in light of United Nations vote in favour of partition.

2. Jews have warmly welcomed vote and will clearly co-operate with United Nations Commission in setting up Jewish State. Arab States have refused to recognise United Nations recommendation and may be expected not (repeat not) to co-operate in any way with Commission. It is therefore difficult to see how an Arab State can be set up as recommended by United Nations Assembly. Arab Governments and Palestinian Arabs are themselves divided and there will probably be various claims to Arab areas in Palestine. It is doubtful if Arabs will co-operate in Joint Economic Board and this might have important effect on economy of whole of Palestine.

3. In these circumstances Cabinet have reached following conclusions.

4. United Nations decision. We should take note of United Nations recommendation in favour of partition. We should do nothing to obstruct implementation of this recommendation by United Nations, but United Kingdom troops and administration should in no circumstances become involved in enforcing decision or in maintaining law and order while United Nations Commission implement it.

5. Withdrawal of troops. General trend of withdrawal will be from south to north. After termination of civil administration, United Kingdom troops will be concentrated in limited area pending final evacuation through/

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through Haifa. Within that area United Kingdom Military Commander will continue to take such measures as are necessary for protection and speedy evacuation of United Kingdom troops and stores. Military demands on transport will be restricted so as to avoid disrupting trade during evacuation period. Subject to this as many military stores as possible will be removed. Assuming most favourable conditions some 150,000 tons of less essential stores will have to be left behind. We hope to be able to arrange with successor authorities for custody or subsequent evacuation of such stores.

6. Interim period until arrival of United Nations Commission. It is desirable that we should maintain administrative responsibility until about mid-May in order that withdrawal may be carried out within above framework. It would be intolerable if Palestine Government had to share authority with United Nations Commission. Moreover arrival of Commission would probably provoke Arab disturbances which would upset withdrawal plan and might endanger our whole position in Middle East. We should therefore do all in our power to secure that Commission does not (repeat not) arrive in Palestine before we are ready to hand over. If they arrive at beginning of May this would allow a fortnight for handing over. Until Commission arrives we should maintain status quo as far as possible and do all we can to prevent disturbances. We have received assurances from Arab Governments that they do not (repeat not) intend to make trouble while we are still in charge and we have expressed to Arab Governments hope that these assurances will be fully honoured.

7. We are conveying general outline of our withdrawal plans in confidence to Arab Governments and High Commission for Palestine are similarly informing Arab Higher Committee and Jewish Agency.

8. Illegal Immigration. So long as we are administratively responsible we should make every practical effort to maintain control over immigration, but it may not be possible effectively to limit it after 1st February. Illegal immigrants now in Cyprus should in any event be transferred to Palestine before evacuation is complete.

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9. Legislation. On relinquishing mandate, Palestine Government should be terminated and all jurisdiction of His Majesty in Palestine should cease. Requisite legislation should be prepared accordingly.
10. Negotiation with United Nations Commission. United Kingdom Permanent Representative at United Nations has been instructed to inform Commission of outline of plan as set out in paragraph 5 above and to make every effort to secure that Commission does not (repeat not) reach Palestine until we are ready to hand over. In negotiating with Commission on this point he is to ask Commission to postpone its arrival in Palestine until 1st May. After that date Commission would be free, so far as we are concerned, to exercise its authority throughout Palestine, except that in restricted area in which United Kingdom troops will between that date and 1st August be concentrated United Kingdom military commander will have to exercise such authority as is necessary for protection and rapid evacuation of United Kingdom troops and military stores.
11. If Commission demur, Sir A. Cadogan is to add that, as it must frankly recognise, its arrival and assumption of authority in Palestine are bound to lead to a state of tension if nothing worse and that any such disorders would not only involve us, owing to our responsibility to maintain law and order while our administration continues, in action tantamount to enforcement of partition, which we are unwilling to undertake, but would also seriously interfere with our withdrawal. This would not be in interests of rapid and orderly hand-over to Commission and we feel that it is in its interests as well as in ours, that this situation should not arise.
12. If pressed still further Sir A. Cadogan has been authorised to suggest that, subject to conditions in Palestine at the time, there might not be quite same difficulty about arrival shortly before 1st May of part of Commission's secretariat who could begin to make arrangements for Commission's accommodation etc.

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- 13. Time-table which we propose will clearly involve a modification of recommendations to effect that if provisional Councils of Government cannot be set up by 1st April Commission should report back to Security Council.
- 14. Sir A. Cadogan will also have to negotiate with Commission on other matters including suggestion that a Jewish area should be evacuated at an early stage, financial and economic questions, and custody and evacuation of stores. Instructions to him on these points are under consideration.
- 15. His Majesty's Representatives in countries represented on Commission have been instructed to explain our position in confidence to the five Governments and to request them, in view of importance of maintaining peaceful conditions during transitional period of withdrawal in Palestine, to instruct their representatives at United Nations to co-operate to fullest possible extent with Sir A. Cadogan in working out plans of new Commission.
- 16. Memorandum has been given to United States Secretary of State outlining withdrawal plan and calling attention to difficulties which could be caused by premature arrival of United Nations Commission in Palestine. Memorandum suggested that it would be most helpful if United States representative at United Nations could be instructed to use his influence to ensure that Commission were ready to come to an arrangement with us on lines which would fit in with our plans i.e. that it should not arrive in Palestine before 1st May. United States State Department subsequently informed United Kingdom Embassy, Washington, that United States Delegation at United Nations have been instructed to co-operate with United Kingdom Delegation on this matter.
- 17. We should appreciate any support which other British Commonwealth Governments are in a position to give.

Copy to:-

Foreign Office	Mr. I.A. Kirkpatrick
	Mr. J.P.G. Finch (4)
	Mr. B.A.B. Burrows
Colonial Office	Mr. Trafford Smith

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<p>204 31 E11634/46/C</p>	<p>Palestine EASTERN</p>	<p>E11634/G</p>
<p>da Farz 170 dated 8 Dec Received 10 Dec</p>	<p>Palestine Commission</p>	
<p>Last Paper. E11548</p>	<p>(Minutes.) S.A. Dept. CP 16/12</p>	
<p>References. E11176/46/C</p>	<p>J. H. Bent Dec. 10 See also E 11565/6</p>	
<p>(Print.)</p>	<p>L. H. Pyman 11/12</p>	
<p>(How disposed of.)</p>	<p>BARB 12.12</p>	
<p>(Action completed.) 2F 19/12</p>	<p>(Index.) WPH</p>	
<p>Next Paper.</p>		

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Cypher/OTF

DIPLOMATIC SECRET

DISTRIBUTION

FROM LA PAZ TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Rees
No: 170

D. 6.55.p.m.8th December 1947

8th December 1947

R. 1.50.a.m.9th December 1947

Palastine.

Secret.

In an interview with the Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs I carried out the instructions contained in paragraph 2 of your telegram No: 80 of December 3rd. He said that the Bolivian Government were awaiting report from their delegation at New York before definitely accepting representation on the Commission. However he expected the Government would accept the honour bestowed upon them, in which case instructions would be given to the Bolivian representative to keep in closest touch with Sir A. Cadogan and to cooperate to the full with him.

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<p>1947</p> <p>205</p>	<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>E11635 / G</p> <p>10 DEC 1947</p>
<p>E11635 14619</p> <p>Cairo</p> <p>2282</p> <p>Dated 9 Dec</p> <p>Received 10 Dec.</p>	<p>Withdrawal from Palestine</p>	
<p>Last Paper.</p> <p>E11634</p> <p>References.</p> <p>E11548/11280/65</p> <p>E11548/11280/65</p>	<p>(Minutes.)</p> <p>I submit a draft, after discussion with Mr. Mathison, C.O.</p> <p>H.B. Riley 15/12</p> <p>16.12</p>	
<p>(Print.)</p>		
<p>(How disposed of.)</p> <p>1/18/12</p> <p>8/c.o.</p>		
<p>(Action completed.)</p> <p>21/18/12</p>	<p>(Index.)</p> <p>W.P.</p>	
<p>Next Paper.</p>		

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E 11635

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir R. Campbell
No. 2232

D. 9.57 a.m. 9th December 1947
R. 1.44 p.m. 9th December 1947

9th December 1947

IMPORTANT
TOP SECRET

My telegram No. 2272.

In order to be clear in my own mind I should be grateful if you would confirm my understanding of the phases of withdrawal from Palestine, namely:

(a) Troops will start moving towards final concentration and embarkation area apart from one brigade group which will form military reserve for the whole Middle East and which will come from Palestine and be added to the British garrison in Egypt (your telegram No. 2224).

(b) Irrespective of and unconnected with onward movement, British responsibility for civil administration (including police) will come to an end on the termination of the mandate when civil authority will be handed over to the United Nations Commission. All British civil administrative officers and police will thereupon immediately be withdrawn.

(c) Troop movements towards final concentration and embarkation area will, however, continue and embarkation will be completed by August 1st 1948 as and when it may suit us. This process will not in fact be completed until some time after the termination of the mandate.

2. Is the above correct? If so, I take it that the High Commissioner's reservations in Jerusalem telegram No. 152 refer to phase (a) above. I mention this because at first sight his telegram seemed to lead to the conclusion that military withdrawal would be completed before (repeat before) civil administration over the whole country came to an end. Secondly I take it that during phase (c) above military forces would take care of their own security by declaring martial law in areas they actually occupied and along their lines of communication to the embarkation point. During this phase the civil government outside our own military area would not be our concern but would be the responsibility of the United Nations Commission.

3. If these deductions are correct, the object of our present representations to Arab Governments would be to keep them quiet during phases (a) and (b) until the surrender of the mandate. After surrender of the mandate we are, as I understand it, asking them at present to keep quiet only in concentration and embarkation area where the state of British martial law will exist until all our troops have been withdrawn when presumably there will be nothing except Jewish arms to restrain the Arabs anywhere in Palestine and vice versa.

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No. E11635/4676

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CYPHER

131 194

Despatched 2.55 / M. 17/11

Draft.

Telegram/ ~~Card~~
No. 2275
(Date) Dec 17th
Repeat to: -

~~En Clair.~~
~~Code.~~
Cypher.
Distribution: -

Depl. no. 1

Copies to: -

C.O.

[Handwritten signatures and dates]
16.12
H.B. 15/12

Important and
Secret

Your telegram no. 2282

I confirm the accuracy of your outline of our plans for withdrawal from Palestine, subject to two minor corrections:

(a) There will not necessarily be any declaration of martial law in the areas occupied by British troops after the termination of the mandate. Their position will then be analogous to that of forces in occupation of enemy territory.

(b) Some administrative offices may remain after the termination of the /mandate.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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FO 371 / 61796

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mandate, in the capacity of political officers attached to the armed forces.

2. It follows that the conclusion drawn in your paragraph 3 is also correct.

WLL
16.12

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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(E 11655/46/G)

(Secret)

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL No. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO.

No. 2275. D. 2.55 p.m. 17th December, 1947.
17th December, 1947.

IMPORTANT.

SECRET.

Your telegram No. 2282.

I confirm the accuracy of your outline of our plans for withdrawal from Palestine, subject to two minor corrections:

- (a) there will not necessarily be any declaration of martial law in the areas occupied by British troops after the termination of the mandate. Their position will then be analogous to that of forces in occupation of enemy territory.
- (b) Some administrative officers may remain after the termination of the mandate, in the capacity of political officers attached to the armed forces.

2. It follows that the conclusion drawn in your paragraph 3 is also correct.

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1947

PALESTINE

11 DEC

Registry Number

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FROM

Examiner

No.

Washington

Dated

15/365/47

Received in Registry

5 Dec
11 -

Palestine, U. S. Congress.

transmits copies of speeches taken from Congressional Record which were made in the session on Palestine.

Last Paper

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Reference: FO 371/61796

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BRITISH EMBASSY.

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

5th December 1947

11/17/15
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Ref: 15/365/47

Dear Department,

We enclose herein copies of speeches taken from the Congressional Record which were made in the Senate on the 1st December by Senators Barkley (D., Kentucky), Tobey (R., New Hampshire), Saltonstall (R., Mass.), Lucas (D., Illinois), Chavez (D., New Mexico), Magrath (D., Rhode Island), Brewster (R., Maine), and Morse (R., Oregon), and in the House of Representatives on December 2nd by Representatives Javits (R., New York), Klein (D., New York), Rankin (D., Mississippi) (a discordant note), and Rooney (D., New York). Mrs. Bolton (R., Ohio) also spoke of Palestine but her speech, which dealt mainly with her recent tour of Europe and the Middle East on behalf of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is being reported separately.

2. It will be seen that Senator Brewster, supported after some misunderstanding by Senator Morse, urged that some United Nations force composed of volunteers should be created to keep order in Palestine.

3. We are sending a copy of this letter to Jerusalem.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

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Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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pose in rising is to ask unanimous consent that the matter may be taken up at this time so that the Commission can begin to function.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. Am I correct in my understanding that this deals only with the organization of the Commission and with the starting of the Commission?

Mr. AIKEN. That is correct. It authorizes it.

Mr. WHITE. The bill passed the House, and I understand that it has been acted on favorably by the committee of the Senate to which it was referred.

Mr. AIKEN. That is correct. It has been referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. There has been no hearing. I have talked with most of the members of the committee, if not all of them. The staff was contacting them today so that there would be no delay. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] is a member of the Commission and also a member of the committee. The bill as passed by the House will permit them to "procure, without regard to the civil-service and classification laws, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 15 of the act of August 2, 1946—Public Law 600, Seventy-ninth Congress."

Mr. WHITE. I take it that it does not undertake to deal with problems of prices or otherwise for the various committees of the Senate.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator is correct about that.

I have discussed this matter with the minority leader, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and other Senators; and I have found no objection.

Mr. WHITE. I shall offer no objection.

Mr. AIKEN. There is one amendment which I wish to offer, if unanimous consent is given for the present consideration of this measure.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. As I remember that bill, it provides for the appropriation of approximately \$750,000.

Mr. AIKEN. That is correct.

Mr. LANGER. How many employees is it desired to take out of the Civil Service? How many employees will the Commission hire?

Mr. AIKEN. The idea is to enable the Commission to hire some specialists who would not want to take the civil-service examinations and come under the civil-service laws. The purpose is to enable the hiring of such persons for the purpose of helping the Commission for a few days or a month. Under present conditions, that cannot be done. The Commission would not be able to obtain such employees, if they had to take the civil-service examinations and come under the civil-service system.

They also wish to engage the services of outside organizations, such as a firm

of accountants, and it might be that such a firm might have a client who was trying to recover some income-tax payments from the United States Government. Unless we have the law amended in the way which I shall indicate, it will not be possible for the Commission to engage them.

Mr. LANGER. How many employees will be needed?

Mr. AIKEN. I do not know the total number. The number will be kept as small as possible, and yet still enable the Commission to do the work; I assure the Senator that.

Mr. LANGER. I have no objection.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I wish to state that it is not the purpose to circumvent the civil-service laws or the classification laws, but this particular amendment must necessarily be made a part of the law if we are to obtain the services of specialized talent. Under present circumstances, that talent is not available. Of course, some persons in private enterprise are not interested in taking the civil-service examinations and trying to become qualified for long-time Government service.

So, Mr. President, if the Government is to do the job and is to have the best assistance which might be available to it, it is imperative that this amendment to the existing act be made.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. Flemming, of the Civil Service Commission, is also a member of this Commission. He was appointed by the President.

Mr. LANGER. I wish to call attention to the fact that when the OPA was organized, it went to the offices of various congressional committees and various Senators and took some of their best help because it had no salary limitation on it at all. I wish to point out that I do not think this Commission should make a raid on the office force of any committee.

Mr. AIKEN. I do not think there is any likelihood of that happening in the case of this Commission. If Mr. Hoover had been head of the OPA, I think he would have handled it differently.

I do not know of any reason why objection should be made to the present consideration of this measure, because the Commission wishes to get to work. But it is not now in a position to begin engaging the services of some specialists who simply will not help it at all if they are required to come under the civil-service system; they cannot afford to do that.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I shall not object, if this matter may be brought to an early determination. But if it is going to involve lengthy consideration and real debate, I shall feel constrained to object. I hope the matter can be brought to a prompt conclusion one way or another.

Mr. AIKEN. If there is no objection, I should like to have the bill taken up, without having had formal action taken by the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair correctly understand that the

Senator from Vermont desires to have the committee discharged from the further consideration of the bill?

Mr. AIKEN. That is correct. I think that is the formal way of doing what I have in mind.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments is discharged from the further consideration of House bill 4469.

Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 4469) to amend the act of July 7, 1947, so as to authorize the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to procure the temporary or intermittent services of experts or consultants or organizations thereof.

Mr. AIKEN. Then, Mr. President, I present the bill, and also an amendment in the nature of a substitute for paragraph (b) of the bill. This proposed substitute was considered by the Commission this morning, and was unanimously approved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, and the bill will be read by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 4469) to amend the act of July 7, 1947, so as to authorize the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to procure the temporary or intermittent services of experts or consultants or organizations thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment which has been submitted by the Senator from Vermont will now be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2 it is proposed to strike out lines 7 through 13, inclusive, and in lieu thereof to insert the following:

(b) Service of an individual as a member of the Commission or employment of an individual by the Commission as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field, on a part-time or full-time basis, with or without compensation, shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such individual within the provisions of section 109 or 113 of the Criminal Code (U. S. C., 1940 ed., title 18, secs. 198 and 203), or of section 19 (e) of the Contract Settlement Act of 1944, or of any other Federal law imposing restrictions, requirements, or penalties in relation to the employment of persons, the performance of services, or the payment or receipt of compensation in connection with any claim, proceeding, or matter involving the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I desire to propound an inquiry to the able Senator from Vermont. As I understood the statement which he made, his committee has not passed upon this measure; and yet now he is offering an amendment to the original measure. I wonder who is responsible for the amendment.

Mr. AIKEN. The amendment was drawn by the legislative counsel and

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the Commission itself. Paragraph (b) of the House bill was submitted or introduced, I believe, by Mr. CLARENCE BROWN. The substitute was suggested by Mr. Dean Acheson, and was unanimously approved by Mr. Hoover and the other members of the Commission.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I shall not object to the amendment or to the bill; but I wish to make a statement at this point, because we should not legislate in this manner. If the committee has not passed upon a bill of such importance, with \$700,000 involved, it seems to me that all members of the committee should have an opportunity to examine the bill and discuss its merits. I know how important this measure is, and I shall not object to its present consideration, but certainly our action in connection with this matter cannot be used as a precedent in the future, because the present procedure is what might be called murdering the real legislative precedents.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, when the first explanation was made by the Senator from Vermont, I had no objection, because I understood the bill to be a measure which would excuse from the operation of the civil-service laws certain persons who are to be selected by this commission. But now that the proposed amendment has been read, it becomes clear that if the measure were enacted in the form in which the Senator from Vermont now requests its enactment, it would have the effect of exempting such persons from the application of the criminal law which prohibits an employee of the United States from being interested in the prosecution of any claim against the United States.

It seems to me that the bill as proposed to be amended goes far beyond the boundaries of a unanimous-consent agreement. I feel that the Senator from Vermont will realize that this exemption from the criminal law has been made only occasionally, for a single individual. Mr. Justice Roberts, who later was appointed to the Supreme Court, was exempted from that law when he was made counsel for the committee which carried on the prosecutions following the Teapot Dome scandal. There have been one or two other instances. But the exemption proposed by this bill is a wholesale exemption. No Member of the Senate today can tell how many persons will be exempted from the criminal law under the proposed amendment.

I suggest to the Senator that he allow his bill and his report and his amendment to be printed in the regular order. Certainly, when this new Commission asks the Congress of the United States to amend the criminal law, by which the interests of the United States are protected by a prohibition against the filing of a claim against the United States by an employee of the United States, it must be clear that the request involves a matter of such gravity that the precedent which would be created by the entering of such a unanimous-consent agreement is too grievous, and one not to be indulged in so late in the day. So I hope the Senator will allow the matter to take the regular order.

Mr. AIKEN. Then, Mr. President, inasmuch as I understand that this meas-

ure is the unfinished business at the present time, I would suggest that if the Senator from Wyoming is at all alarmed, he consult with Mr. Dean Acheson or Mr. James Rowe, of the Commission, or the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], or Representative MANASCO, or some other member of the Commission.

All I have to say is, if we cannot have some relief from the criminal statutes, there is no earthly use in the Commission thinking it is going to get high-grade men to come to Washington to take civil-service examinations, prohibiting their firm from doing any business at this time with anyone who has perhaps a claim for recovery of taxes against the Government. The Commission just cannot function.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the Senator is talking about an utterly different issue.

Mr. AIKEN. No; I do not think he is.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I say that it is impossible for the Senate to judge now, from what has been said by the Senator, or from the amendment, how many persons will be exempted from the criminal law as a result of the amendment. The matter has been delayed for weeks and months since the Commission was created. If it goes over until the next session of the Senate and the matter is all printed, and all the members of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments have an opportunity to read it, and the members of the Civil Service Committee have an opportunity to read it, no great damage will be done. It may be there should be a limitation as to the number of persons who should be exempted. What is proposed is a blanket exemption. Anybody who may be appointed by the Commission will thereby be exempted if the amendment should be adopted. I hope the Senator will withdraw it, because, if he does not, I shall be forced to object.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I should, of course, be willing to have the bill itself, as unanimously passed by the House, and the amendment which I have proposed, and which was unanimously approved by the Commission this morning, printed in the Record; and may we make this the unfinished business for the next day on which the Senate will be in session?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I shall have no objection to that.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President—

Mr. AIKEN. Then the Senator from Wyoming may examine it and go over it, and if he has any suggestions for making it safer or for improving it, I shall gladly welcome those suggestions, because I do not want to provide any loophole whereby somebody might be able to commit wrong against the Federal Government without being called to account for it. But I do know that we just cannot get the type of men we must have for the reorganization study, if we force them through the regular channels. They will not come in through that method.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the sentiment that has been expressed on the floor this afternoon with respect to the matter is so different from what I anticipated it to be that I feel constrained to object. There is proposed a

bypassing of all legislative processes in connection with the bill. I feel that we cannot find justification for doing so at this time, and I reluctantly object.

Mr. WHERRY subsequently said: May I inquire of the present occupant of the chair the status of House bill 4469 with the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN]. Is it the unfinished business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THYE in the chair). The Chair rather thinks it is, under the present situation.

Mr. WHERRY. If there is any doubt about it, I ask unanimous consent that it be made the unfinished business, to be taken up at the next session of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, inasmuch as I am compelled to leave the Chamber in order to fulfill an engagement, I wish to make a very brief observation on a matter wholly dissociated from the interim European-aid bill, which has been under consideration most of the day, and was passed a few minutes ago.

For a long time the people of the United States and the people of the world have been interested in a fair and equitable settlement of the problems which face Palestine. The United Nations appointed a subcommittee to consider the settlement of the Palestine problem. After long hearings and very earnest efforts on the part of that subcommittee, it reported to the United Nations a recommendation that Palestine be partitioned so as to establish a separate independent Jewish nation in that part of Palestine between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.

After long debate in the United Nations Assembly, just before it adjourned on last Saturday, by a vote of 33 to 13, the report of the subcommittee was adopted by the United Nations, 33 to 13 being a vote of almost 3 to 1 in the Assembly.

While in the declaration of that result, Mr. President, neither side received completely all that it had desired in the way of the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine, yet the result was a culmination of many years of study, thought, and agitation not only on the part of the United Nations, but on the part of the nations of the world and the people of the world.

There are many in this body who have been interested in a proper solution of the Palestinian question. I am one of those. We have felt for a long time that the peace of the world would be promoted by a settlement of this kind, by an adjudication, as it may be called, of the United Nations or of some international tribunal, even before the United Nations was created, which would give to the Jews, not only of Palestine but of the world, a reasonable degree of satisfaction in the consummation of this great ideal which they have for many years and generations held, that there would be established not only in Palestine a homeland for the Jews, but an independent

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nation. It has now come about, insofar as the judgment of the United Nations is concerned, by the vote providing for the partition of Palestine.

In my judgment, it is the best solution that could have been made of this troublesome, ticklish problem. In my judgment, if accepted in good faith by all the nations of the world, and especially by the nations in the Mediterranean basin, it will contribute much to the peace of the world by the elimination of a sore spot, of a condition which has troubled not only the region in which it is involved, but all the nations of the world, great and small, more than anything that has happened in many years.

Therefore, I feel that those who have been working for the promotion of this ideal are to be congratulated. As to those who have opposed it, I feel that in the interest of world peace, security, and satisfaction ultimately all over the Mediterranean region, among the Jews and the Arabs alike, the acceptance of this decision will make a contribution toward world peace, world satisfaction, and the realization of an age-old ambition and ideal on the part of the Jews especially, and will do no substantial harm to those who opposed it in the United Nations.

I hope the decision will be accepted. I hope it will be received with that resignation on the part of those who opposed it which comes about through the necessity that if peace is to prevail in the world there should be concession, there must be acceptance of the verdicts of mankind, and a realization that the vote in the United Nations must be considered a verdict of mankind with respect to the solution of the Palestinian question.

The vote of the United Nations is only the beginning. A government must be set up. It will require time not only for it to be set up, but to adjust itself into the new world situation and with its neighbors on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea.

I urge upon all those who have been interested in this question and in its solution, no matter what attitude they assume, to accept the verdict of the United Nations and to cooperate in good faith in an effort honestly to carry out the judgment of the United Nations. I hope that ultimately Jew and Arab may live together in peace and harmony in the same region where the destiny of men has placed them. I think they can do that if they find themselves willing to accept this verdict as the verdict of mankind with respect to this particular problem, which has been, I think, so happily settled in the United Nations within the last few days.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I am in hearty accord with the remarks of the distinguished minority leader. I am one of those—and I doubt not that all my colleagues feel the same way—who has great admiration for the very consistent way in which he has carried out his convictions in this particular cause, which has now culminated in the vote to which he has referred.

I point out to him, and I doubt not it has occurred to him in his own heart, the lines of Spenser:

But Justice, though her dome she does prolong,
Yet at the last she will her own cause right.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator. Just this one word in conclusion. I feel that the leaders of the great Jewish people who have undertaken to bring about the consummation of an independent nation in Palestine are to be congratulated upon the fact that while they did not get all they originally hoped to get, they have accepted the decision as the solution to which they are committed, and which they will undertake to carry out in good faith, and in the faith that stirs their hearts now, and has stirred them throughout all the years in which they have sought this consummation.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I rose to ask the senior Senator from Kentucky to yield for a moment, when he was speaking on the Palestine situation. He did not see me, and so I rise now in my own time, just to commend him for what he has said.

As one who has worked at public and private meetings on the subject of Palestine over a period of years, I certainly pray and hope that the present settlement will be one which will lead to greater peace, greater satisfaction, and greater comfort for many persons throughout the world today. I commend the Senator for his statement. I join with him in what he said.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate for a brief time only. As one of the Senators from Illinois, I wish to associate myself with what the able senior Senator from Kentucky, our distinguished minority leader, said a few moments ago about the partitioning of Palestine. I know of no man in America who has done more in the dissemination of information upon the partitioning of Palestine than has the able Senator from Kentucky. Along with him, and, I think, with all other Senators, I was happy to know that the Assembly of the United Nations had, by a vote of 33 to 13, agreed upon what seemed to them, and what seems to the people of the country, to be the proper and adequate solution of one of the most troublesome problems the Assembly will probably ever be compelled to solve. Like other speakers, I am certain that if those people in the Mediterranean area who are vitally affected by the partitioning of Palestine will face the issue in the true spirit that was exhibited by those who voted in the affirmative, it will go a long way toward eliminating one of the real trouble spots of the world, and will help bring about the thing that every American is truly interested in, which is an everlasting and enduring peace.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I wish to join with other Senators in rejoicing on the action taken by the United Nations in its vote concerning Palestine. However, there is nothing strange about that whatever. Irrespective of the vote and irrespective of how different countries voted, the important and significant thing is that a historical fact has finally been recognized by civilized governments. That is as it should be. The situation

is as it was from the time of Abraham, from the time of the coming of the Persians into Palestine, from the plowing of Palestine by Egypt, from the coming of Alexander of Greece and the Romans and the Crusaders. Think what happened even under England. The significant thing in my opinion is that civilized society, as organized at the moment, has finally recognized that the Jewish people have a place in the earth, something which history has always proved. The other significant thing is that the United Nations has said that foreign military must get out of Palestine, and they will get out of Palestine.

If, now, the United Nations will only carry the matter further and tell France to get out of Indochina, and the Dutch to get out of Java, then we shall really have something for which to be thankful. We shall then actually believe that civilization is making progress.

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, I wish to join the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the other Senators here this afternoon in expressing my great satisfaction and happiness at the favorable decision reached with regard to the partition of Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly on Saturday.

We in the Senate have a justifiable right in feeling that the solution of the Palestine problem was in no small way due to the efforts in behalf of the Zionist cause by many Members of this body throughout the past two decades. One of the leaders of this great cause was the very able and distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER].

I know of no better way of expressing my feelings about this fruition of the dreams of millions of our fellow citizens and the Jewish people throughout the world than to associate myself with the sentiments and remarks of the Senator from New York hailing the partition of Palestine.

I only want to add to his statement, which I ask unanimous consent to include in the body of the Record following my remarks, the thought that the solution of this grave and difficult international problem holds out the hope and the promise that what has been demonstrated as possible in the solution of this problem can and should happen with respect to other great issues facing the world.

I join the Senator from New York in saluting Jewish Palestine.

May God grant both the Jews and Arabs the wisdom, the patience, and the good will to see the partition through in that same spirit of cooperation and good will that motivated the nations of the world in working out and voting for the partition of Palestine.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. WAGNER HAILING THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

I hail the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to establish the Jewish state in part of Palestine. This act by the United Nations is in accord with the highest dictates of humanity and the loftiest principles of justice. If the resolution for the establishment of the Jewish state in Pal-

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estine is immediately implemented, I feel certain that the present tension and difficulties in Palestine will disappear and peace again will reign in the Holy Land.

The American people have for many years taken a close interest in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I was particularly pleased with the leading and vigorous role which the United States under leadership of President Truman, Secretary of State George Marshall and our delegation to the United Nations played at the sessions of the General Assembly in implementing the traditional policy of our Government in support of the establishment of the Jewish state. This policy can only further and strengthen the ideals and charter of the United Nations. I am sure that world public opinion will support the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine.

After an exile of more than 2,000 years from the Holy Land the Jewish people in their new state—their own state will start a new and glorious chapter in which hundreds of thousands of Jews can end their miserable wanderings and become rooted in the land of their fathers, the homeland of their prayers and the land of their dreams. Once given the opportunity and the initial economic aid the Jews of Palestine will develop a civilization worthy of their prayers and their aspirations for the future.

As one of the co-sponsors of the current resolution on Palestine adopted by the Congress of the United States and as one of the founders of the American Christian Palestine Committee, and because of my life-long interest and association with the Zionist cause, I am personally very thrilled to see in my lifetime the dream of a Jewish state converted into a reality. This has brought me much happiness.

I salute the Jewish state of Palestine!

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I wish to address myself briefly to the matter which engaged the attention of the Senator from Kentucky, in connection with Palestine. I ask permission that there shall be inserted in the RECORD at this point excerpts of publications of the last 2 days, commenting upon this subject, particularly an editorial from the Herald Tribune of this morning, an editorial from the New York Times of this morning, and a most penetrating analysis of the problems ahead in connection with Palestine, from the publication PM. I ask that these be printed at this point, because I think they furnish a most interesting and valuable historical record. I also ask permission to insert in the RECORD at this point a news article from the New York Times of this morning, on the significance of this occasion and what the future portends.

There being no objection, the excerpts of publications and the news article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 1, 1947]

THE ASSEMBLY ACTS

The final vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations approving the partition of Palestine by a little better than the requisite two-thirds vote represents one of the few great acts of courageous collective statesmanship which our shattered postwar world has been able to achieve. For the first time in some 30 years of anguished history it opens a real hope that a stable settlement of the Palestine issue can be reached. For the first time in the far briefer but hardly less troubled history of the United Nations it reveals that organization acting as it was intended to act in precisely the kind of situation which

it was created to meet, with a careful deliberation, but at the same time with an ultimate decisiveness, which are the best possible omens for the future of this second great attempt to bring order into the international world.

The partition plan, dealing as it was forced to do with an irreconcilable tangle of violently conflicting rights, represents only a very rough justice at best. Unable to rely for enforcement on anything more than the existing jumble of national policies, national interests, and available popular forces, it includes no detailed program for its own administration and there is no certainty of its practical success. Zionism, whose path has never been easy or safe, is presented with new perils in this proposed solution. It is clearly not in itself a final answer. But there are not infrequently moments in the affairs of men and peoples when some firm answer, however imperfect or even perilous it may be, is better than none.

It is quite clear from the shifting attitudes of the various delegations and from the composition of the final vote that the partition plan was adopted basically because there was no alternative. The most exhaustive investigation, the most patient hearing of all parties at issue, the most careful calculation of the actual political and human forces involved, yielded no solution which would have been more just; more practicable, or more certain in its operation than this one. What the United Nations did was to ascertain that fact, to have the courage to make the decision which the fact implied, even though it carried no sure guaranty for the future, and thus to establish as firm a foundation as has yet existed on which an ultimate settlement of the Palestine problem may one day be erected.

Whether or not such a settlement will be erected obviously depends upon many things. It depends upon the sincerity with which both the United States and the Soviet Union meet the implications of a policy on which they have been in rare and fortunate agreement. It depends very directly upon the willingness of the British to effect their evacuation as fully as possible in accordance with the spirit of this international directive, which they invited for their own relief. It depends immediately, of course, upon the Arab states and, perhaps upon the statesmanship which the Zionist community can bring to the problem in its new form. These variables are many, and the difficulties ahead may be grave. But whatever they bring, the two-thirds vote in the United Nations, recording a considered judgment upon the facts of the world as it is, will be a powerful aid and support for reasonable courses. The General Assembly has had the will to speak. That in itself is a new factor, and it leaves us with a new hope.

[From the New York Times of December 1, 1947]

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

History was written at Lake Success when the General Assembly of the United Nations approved, without major change, the plan recommended by its special committee for the partition of Palestine. Under this plan two independent states, one Arab and the other Jewish, linked together in an economic union, will be established after the termination of the British mandate. Jerusalem will be placed under a United Nations trusteeship. Provision is made for democratic rights and processes, for the protection of minorities, for the safeguarding of the holy places of three great religions and for the preservation of existing languages and cultures.

The decision in favor of partition has been made on the basis of an extremely close vote, but we do not believe that this result necessarily measures accurately the judgment of

the Assembly on the merits of partition as such. It has been obvious throughout the long debate that a practical question of procedure was involved: namely, the question of how this decision for partition is to be enforced if there is resistance to it. Britain, the present mandatory power, has refused to accept this responsibility; the United Nations has as yet established no international police force which could be used for this purpose, and the General Assembly itself has created no enforcement machinery for a contingency of this kind. It seems probable, therefore, that the failure to make adequate provision for enforcement explains not only some of the negative votes but some of the abstentions when yesterday's poll was taken.

Many of us have long had doubts on another score; doubts concerning the wisdom of erecting a political state on a basis of religious faith. But these doubts must now yield to the fact of a decision made by the necessary two-thirds majority of the voting nations, after a thorough investigation and a full and fair debate. It has been clear for many months that the present precarious deadlock in Palestine required some new solution. It has been equally clear that the most appropriate forum in which to find such a solution was the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Assembly has now made its choice, and its decision should command the acquiescence, the respect, and the loyal support of all nations and all peoples. The award does not go so far, in territorial terms, as most Zionists had hoped. It will grievously disappoint the Arabs. But it is the decision of the United Nations; it is the best decision which that great agency of world opinion was able to discover, and we trust that it will have the willing compliance of the two peoples whose future it involves. Failing that, the Security Council must be courageous enough and resolute enough to supply the necessary means of enforcement. Let us hope that with this decision a solution has at last been found for the Holy Land's tragic and heartbreaking problems.

[From PM of December 1, 1947]

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR THE NEW JEWISH STATE

(The following articles were written by PM's two experts on Palestine. As the postwar fight for a Jewish homeland unfolded, I. F. Stone made three trips to Palestine. One trip was via the European underground of Jewish DP's attempting to reach their promised land. Victor Bernstein accompanied the UN special committee (UNSCOP) to the Holy Land and reported first-hand its findings and recommendations. Here they give their reactions to the fight for partition and how the birth of two nations will come about.)

THE END OF A 2,000-YEAR JOURNEY FOR THE JEWS

(By I. F. Stone)

The decision taken at Flushing Meadow on Saturday gave international approval to the reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Almost two millennia, more than 18 centuries, have passed since the last Jewish state in Palestine fell. It was in A. D. 70 after a struggle whose fury still lives for us in the pages of Tacitus, that Jerusalem was taken by the Romans and the second temple destroyed, all but that fragment of wall at which Jewish pilgrims have long prayed and wept.

Much has been paid for the reestablishment, and much more will be paid before it is firmly realized. It was made possible first of all by those who in the latter half of the last century began to return, not to pray and weep but to build and sow. Except for the empty desert spaces of the Negev, which

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new settlements have just begun to penetrate, the land granted the Jews by the UN are those acres of Galilee, the Emek, and the coastal plain which these settlers and those who followed them wrested from desert sands, malarial marsh, and stony hills.

Many names are associated with the return: the Viennese journalist, Herzl, who helped inspire it; Weizmann, the chemist with a poet's vision, who played the crucial role in winning the first international recognition of a Jewish national home; the British philosopher and statesman, Lord Balfour, to whose declaration Woodrow Wilson lent his support. Another American President, Harry S. Truman, has made possible the completion of the work to which they set their hands.

Hitler helped to spell out the validity of Jewish claims

One other name, a strange one in this list, must be added, that of Adolf Hitler. No more terrible instrument of Providence could be envisaged. The main payment for what happened in the UN Assembly was the payment of 6,000,000 Jewish lives taken by the Nazi terror. This it was which spelled out in blood and fire a message the most unwilling among Jews as well as non-Jews could not escape: the validity and the necessity of Jewish national aspiration.

The doubts and hesitations, the hypocrisy and reluctance, the intrigue and the power politics of the prolonged UN inquiry and debate, will dwindle into the distance as time passes. And what will loom larger on the horizon of history is the fact that the world did make recompense to this new Attila's foremost victims; that justice and good will and Christian conscience did triumph after all.

A need for understanding between Arab and Jew

The circumstances under which this new nation makes its debut are the circumstances on which its future, like the future of every small country and of the world depends. The United States of America, the British Dominions without exception (only the mother country abstaining), and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its new east European bloc (only Yugoslavia abstaining) joined to make Saturday's two-thirds vote possible. Everywhere it is hoped that such agreements on other, wider, problems can again be achieved.

Next to this overwhelming need for world peace is the new nation's need for understanding with its Arab citizens and its Arab neighbors. What the Jews have been given is what they had already made theirs by their own sweat and courage; the UN merely set its seal on an accomplished fact. What the Jews can achieve in their area will depend, as it would depend even if they had all Palestine, on joint economic development and trade with the Arab sections of Palestine, with Trans-Jordan, and with the Middle East as a whole. Under such circumstances, the new Judea, like Denmark and Switzerland, can provide a home for several million people.

The courage and the will to do a good job

Those who have been to Palestine and felt the dynamic and confident spirit of the Yishuv will have no doubt that this little community will do an astounding job. Those who have seen the courage and the will to live that throbs in the Jewish DP camps in central Europe and in the detention camps on Cyprus will have no doubts about these folk, on whom the impact of the UN decision is beyond the imagination of those who possess comfort and country.

To these scattered remnants the news on Saturday must have seemed the fulfillment of that prophecy which Jeremiah spoke: "I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again to this land; and I will build them, and not pull them down;

and I will plant them, and not pluck them up." On this joyous occasion we greet them and the Yishuv, and wish them in the ancient formula, peace and serenity, "Shalom v'shalvah."

PROPHECY: ARAB ARMIES WON'T MARCH INTO JEWISH PALESTINE

(By Victor H. Bernstein)

"Judge us by the results," a member of the United States delegation pleaded a few weeks ago. The results came Saturday: 33 votes for the partition of Palestine, 13 against, and 10 abstentions. The victory for partition was put through despite last-minute parliamentary maneuvers by the Arabs and their supporters aimed at delay and diversion. But the founding of the Jewish state could be no longer delayed nor any longer diverted.

The day was one of triumph not for Jews alone. The UN, ending its session on a singularly constructive note, disproved the complaints of its critics that it was already a moribund organization. It was a day which also told the world that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics could work in close harmony for justice and human rights.

How much luster would be added to November 29 if it should prove not only freedom day for Palestine and resurrection day for Judea, but also the birthday of future United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collaboration.

The architects of this freedom day are many. One cannot hope to name them all. The delegates of the UN Special Committee on Palestine laid the foundation. Among those who built upon it were men like Granados, of Guatemala; Fabregat, of Uruguay; Pruszyński, of Poland; Pearson, of Canada; Tsarapkin, of the Soviet Union; Zoloaga, of Venezuela.

Hats off to United States delegation and to President Truman

I leave for special mention Johnson and Hildring, of the United States of America, because of the special role they played as representatives of the most influential of all UN members. The United States delegation blew alternately hot and cold during the long and tortuous weeks which came to a climax on Saturday. But in the final and crucial hours they blew hot. "Judge us by the results." America is grateful, President Truman.

I have been here speaking of the architects of freedom. But architects are only designers, not builders. The builders of freedom were the 600,000 and the 6,000,000—the 6,000,000 who died nameless in Europe that the 600,000 in Palestine, and thousands more to follow might live in peace on land that they can call their own.

I have spoken of November 29 as a day of freedom. In cold analysis it is merely a day of opportunity.

I think that, of the thousands who crowded the Assembly hall on that date and tensely counted the ballots, some of the greatest realists sat in that block under the south gallery reserved for Moshe Shertok and his colleagues of the Jewish Agency.

Those partisans of partition who saw the desert blooming anew with each affirmative vote were not realists.

The Saudi Arabian, the Yemenite, the other Arabs who made great show of repudiating the UN decision, and talked of reserving their freedom of action as against the majority of the civilized nations of the world, were not realists either.

The truth about the Arab threats at Flushing

I should like, first, to discuss briefly the phony fervor with which the Arabs insisted on their unity against the Jewish state and against the United Nations.

The Arabs know, and I hope they realize that the world knows, that however they

may appear to be at Flushing and Lake Success, walls of conflicting ambitions tower high between Aman and Damascus, Cairo, and Bagdad. The saber rattling the world heard a few weeks ago emanating from the Arab League Conference in the Lebanese Mountains above Beyrouth turned out to be the tinny sound of pennies rattling in a beggar's cup.

The world should know now the truth of what happened at that conference. The truth was that Saudi Arabia refused even to threaten termination of her oil contracts as a weapon against the United States. The truth was that Egypt declared herself powerless to do anything while her demand that Britain evacuate the Sudan was before the Security Council. The truth was that Syria, with camels instead of tanks, feared the military machine of Iraq on the one hand and of Transjordan on the other. The truth was that Abdallah, ruler of Transjordan, hopeful of swallowing the Arab state which would evolve out of the partition of Palestine, had no desire to burn his fingers before the prize was available.

If you will look at your newspapers of a few weeks ago, you will see in bold headlines the only practical results achieved by the vaunted unity of the Arab League states in their meeting at Lebanon. "Troops menace Palestine along Syrian and Egyptian borders," read the headlines. No one knows how many troops there were on these borders nor how well they were armed. What we do know is that a single Associated Press reporter, flying in an unarmed plane over the reported areas, seems effectually to have dispersed them.

Some prophecies as to the future

The truth was that the Arab League members failed to agree on maneuvering their troops anywhere except across newspaper headlines, where operating costs, presumably, could be kept at a minimum.

I should like, at this point, to make a prophecy that is not based entirely on speculation. If any Arab army crosses into Palestine en masse in the near future, it will be the Transjordan Legion into Arab Palestine. I venture to add that not a single legion soldier will march across any boundary into the Jewish state. And I prophecy, thirdly, that if this does happen, the last pretense of Arab unity will dissolve and the hot winds of the Arab world will be filled with imprecation called out upon the head of Abdallah by enraged politicians in Beyrouth and Damascus, Cairo and Bagdad.

One notes that neither the delegate of Egypt nor of Lebanon associated himself with their fellow Arabs in their explicit repudiation Saturday of the Assembly's adoption of the partition plan.

But if the Arab chauvinists are not realists, neither are those Jews who feel that the UN has guaranteed the Jewish state for them by a stroke of the pen.

What has been created is an opportunity, not a state

The loud-talking Arab politicians at UN may be phony in their arguments on unity, but the mufti and his gang of cutthroats are not. Neither is there anything phony in the simple Arabs throughout the Middle East whose passions have been aroused by years of propaganda against the Jew and the Jewish state. One should not be surprised if riots do occur in all the cities of the Middle East, where Jews are settled in large numbers, nor should one be surprised if before the Jewish desert blooms it will be moistened not only by the sweat of pioneers but by the blood of the defenders.

Above all, there is nothing phony in the oft-repeated statement of the Jewish agency that the Jewish state will be a tiny oasis in an Arab sea whose only hope for survival will be ultimate understanding and cooperation with the Arab world.

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I repeat: the partition plan does not create a state; it creates only an opportunity. The plan is merely a skeleton, a frame, upon which the Jews must build with flesh and blood.

No one, least of all the UN Commission which is to go to Palestine, can make the plan work unless the Jews themselves are prepared to pay the price in statesmanship and, if need be, in lives. Those of us who have watched the evolution of the plan through the UN have come to realize and to appreciate the misgivings with which it was finally adopted. At crucial points it was saved by only a handful of votes. Some of its staunchest supporters recognized in it grievous weaknesses which only superhuman efforts can overcome.

I would like to say in passing that the Commission membership chosen by the Assembly on Saturday does not seem, at first glance, an entirely satisfactory substitute for the original list approved by the Palestine Committee. Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, and the Philippines have been chosen to substitute for Poland, Uruguay, Guatemala, Norway, and Ireland. It is evident that the change, sponsored by the United States, was made as a last-minute gesture of appeasement toward the Arabs. As such, it may have some value if the Arabs accept it as a conciliatory gesture. But it is particularly to be regretted that Guatemala, which fought so valiantly from the outset for the partition plan should not have been retained as a counterweight to the Philippines, whose propartition stand is of rather extraordinary recent origin.

In the end, the plan can only succeed if (a) the United Kingdom fulfills with good will and with sincerity its Saturday pledge to the UN that it will cooperate; and (b) if the Jews of Palestine are granted the arms with which their militia must be made ready to secure law and order as and when the British evacuate their territory.

The actions of the United Kingdom will be watched from here on in with all the cynicism which its past performances in Palestine have given rise. As to the arming of the Jewish militia, that duty will rest primarily on the United States, which can once more perform as the arsenal of democracy.

[From the New York Times of November 30, 1947]

PALESTINE IS HELD UN TURNING POINT—RISE IN PRESTIGE SEEN IF PLAN WORKS, PERIL TO WORLD BODY AND TO PEACE IF IT FAILS—MAJOR POINTS APPRAISED—PRECEDENTS, TROOPS, ADEQUACY OF SOLUTION, RESPONSIBILITY AMONG FACTORS AT ISSUE

(By Thomas J. Hamilton)

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., November 30.—The decision by the General Assembly to partition Palestine is generally recognized as a turning point in the history of the United Nations. If the Assembly's resolution brings about a workable solution, the prestige of the United Nations will be greatly increased. If it fails, not only will Palestine become a potential breeding ground for war, but the future of the United Nations itself will be imperiled.

The following questions and answers are intended to clear up some of the principal points involved:

1. Is there any precedent for such a decision by an international organization to divide up a disputed area?

Students of history agree with Herschel V. Johnson, the United States representative on the Assembly's Palestine Committee, that there is no direct precedent. Next to Palestine, the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein provoked the most intense dispute known in modern history. They were annexed to Prussia, and subsequently became a part of Germany, not by the decision of an international organization, but as a result of the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck.

He promoted the Austro-Prussian War with Denmark in 1864 and 2 years later fought Austria to get undivided control of the spoils. Part of the Duchy of Schleswig was restored to Denmark under the Treaty of Versailles.

WHY THE ASSEMBLY ACTED

2. Why did the General Assembly have to assume responsibility for the fate of Palestine?

Great Britain placed the responsibility on the Assembly for recommendations regarding its future government. The British, who had held Palestine under a mandate from the League of Nations, decided to give it up because they could not find a solution acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. Since the League of Nations had been liquidated, the British turned to the United Nations.

3. What right did the United Nations, and specifically the General Assembly, have to order the partition of Palestine?

There are no specific provisions in the Charter, but the Assembly has the right to make recommendations to member governments and also to the Security Council regarding the maintenance of peace and security. However, since its recommendations are not legally binding, the Assembly in its resolution asked the Security Council to assume the responsibility if a threat to the peace should develop—that is, if the Palestinian Arabs or the neighboring Arab states should carry out their threats to fight rather than agree to partition. Internal disturbances are to be handled by armed militia recruited by the provisional councils of government of the two nascent states.

4. Are these arrangements adequate for keeping peace?

The sponsors of partition, and particularly the United States Government, hope so; but no one knows how much of a fight the Arabs inside or outside Palestine will put up. However, the supporters of partition think the crucial period will come after, not before, the independence of the two states is proclaimed. In that case, serious fighting would be a matter for the Security Council anyway.

The British, however, think the severest test will come between now and the termination of the mandate and the evacuation of British troops—for which the deadline is next August 1—and particularly in the 2-month interregnum between that time and the proclamation of the two states as independent—which is to be not later than October 1. The majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended partition, said it thought force would be necessary to enforce it.

THE PROBLEM OF TROOPS

5. Why did not the Assembly provide outside military force to be on the safe side?

Some members, including apparently the United States, kept thinking until the last that the British would back down on their announcement that they would not allow British troops to be used to enforce any solution unless it was satisfactory to both Jews and Arabs—in which case, of course, no armed force would have been necessary anyway.

The Security Council is supposed to have standing arrangements for an international force to deal with such contingencies, but never has been able to agree on the size of the respective contingents.

The trouble about recruiting an international force from scratch was that the small powers did not have the forces available, and were not willing to send them anyway; and if the great powers sent troops, that might give the Soviet Union a chance to establish itself in a strategic center of the strategic Near East. Besides, the United States State Department did not think that Congress would agree to the sending of United States troops.

The result was that the United States at first proposed the formation of an international constabulary force recruited on an individual basis. This obviously was unworkable, and the United States along with the other supporters of partition then decided to depend on the armed militia in the respective states for keeping internal order.

6. Where will the militia get the necessary guns and other equipment?

Presumably, these will come from the United States and other supporters of partition, although the Assembly resolution says nothing on that subject.

IMMIGRATION CURB SEEN RETAINED

7. What happens about Jewish immigration, and the British laws restricting the purchase of land by Jews, between now and the proclamation of independence?

Presumably the British will keep in force the land laws and the present immigration quota of 1,500 a month until they give up the mandate. However, the Assembly resolution says that the respective councils of governments, under the supervision of the United Nations commission, will have responsibility for such questions during the transition period.

This is one of the many points that have to be worked out with the British. It is supposed that the Jewish state will provide virtually unlimited immigration permits once it gets going.

8. What are some of the other questions to be settled with the British?

For one thing, the British say that although, of course, they will have to evacuate their troops gradually, they will give up authority all at once except for the gradually diminishing area occupied by their troops as they are withdrawn, where the British would govern by military law alone.

On the other hand, the Assembly resolution provides for the progressive transfer of authority; that is, the British would hand over authority as they withdrew their troops, but would continue the civil administration until the last in whatever areas they occupied. In view of this unsettled dispute, it is not clear who would be responsible for restoring order if there were a serious clash between Jews and Arabs after the termination of the mandate.

Much as they dislike it, the British apparently are responsible until they end the mandate, which is one of the reasons why many delegates think this will come sooner, rather than later.

AN ARAB COUNCIL HELD UNLIKELY

9. What are the prospects that the Arabs will form a council of government in the part of Palestine assigned to them, and in general cooperate in carrying out the Assembly resolution?

Such a prospect is regarded as remote. 10. How will this affect the Jewish state? That state can and no doubt will be established anyway. However, Arab noncooperation would make it impossible to carry out the complicated business of taking over the liabilities and assets of the British administration, arranging for an economic union and a common currency, agreeing on the administration of telegraph and railroad facilities, and so forth.

11. What will become of the area assigned to the Arab state if there is no cooperation?

The Security Council is supposed to do something if provisional councils of government have been established in both states by next April. Some delegates expect the Arabs in the intended Arab state to take over after the British withdraw. As King Abdullah of Transjordan is strongly opposed to partition, his actions may determine whether it can be carried out with relatively little bloodshed.

12. Since the Jewish state will have almost as many Arabs as Jews (397,000 to 538,000), why was there no provision for the exchange of minorities?

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Each state is required to write into its constitution guarantees of the rights of the respective minorities. In addition, any Arab who desires to do so may opt for citizenship in the Arab state within 1 year, and vice versa.

No exchange of minorities is authorized because the partition plan is based on the belief that, once a final decision is reached, Arabs and Jews will accept it and live together without fighting, and eventually may even find it possible to forget their present enmity.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES APPRAISED

13. What United Nations agencies are involved in the partition plan?

All the important ones have some role. The Assembly adopted the partition plan, named the commission to help carry it out, and will get the commission's final report.

The Security Council is responsible, if either side refuses to cooperate, to the extent of naming a provisional government, and if there is outside intervention or serious fighting from any direction.

The Trusteeship Council is responsible for administering the city of Jerusalem and outlying towns. The Economic and Social Council is to name three representatives who will hold the balance of power on the commission that is to carry out economic union.

14. Were there any alternatives?

There were, but none apparently could have received a two-thirds majority in the Assembly—certainly not the earlier Arab demand for a single Palestinian state, where the present Arab majority would have had permanent control. A federal state would have had a good chance if the Arabs had accepted it before the eleventh hour.

15. Will partition work?

The answer depends primarily upon the Arabs of Palestine and the neighboring states. If they accept the Assembly decision, it will work. However, their statements at the closing session of the Assembly indicate that they will not. In that case, the answer depends upon the degree of cooperation of Britain in surrendering her authority over Palestine, and in keeping order until the transfer takes place; and, also, the ability of the United States and the Soviet Union to work together in the Security Council in handling the difficult problem of providing military force, if that should become necessary.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I want to speak briefly on this subject, because, while we are witnessing one of the significant events of history in the birth of a nation by a new process, through the action of the United Nations, and with the refusal of Great Britain, who hitherto has been responsible for Palestine, to accept responsibility in the future, it means the United Nations has not only given birth to this nation, but must see to it that the infant shall be properly nourished and developed. So that while we pause for a moment here appropriately to congratulate both the new nation and its parents, and all those who have been concerned in the past half century with bringing this great dream of Zion to pass, we should also remind ourselves that the United States Government, as one of the chief sponsoring powers for this solution in bringing to pass the vote by which it was given birth, 33 to 15, has assumed a considerable measure of responsibility.

This is no time for international or political recrimination. There is glory enough for all if the fond hopes of those who have sponsored this project shall be realized. But we may go far back to see

the great vision of Chaim Weizmann, who originally had the vision of recapturing Palestine as a homeland for what seemed to be otherwise a homeless people except as they had found lodgment in other parts of the globe—a vision that, after 2,000 years of wandering the Jews should come to what might be for them appropriately considered the homeland that was promised to them by the so-called Balfour Declaration—Palestine as a homeland for the Jews.

I have said that there is glory enough for all, and what has now occurred is another evidence of the significance of bipartisan achievement in our foreign policy, because it is interesting to note that the first steps for United States participation in this great achievement were taken under the direction of a Republican administration, and its final consummation has been under a Democratic Executive.

After Mr. Balfour's Declaration, the United States, not being a member of the League of Nations, which issued the mandate for Palestine, became a party to the mandate by its treaty, the so-called Coolidge convention with Great Britain in 1924, under the leadership of the late Henry Cabot Lodge, the distinguished predecessor as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the one who has so successfully advanced the measure we have considered here today.

Under his leadership, as well as under the leadership of Charles E. Hughes as Secretary of State and Calvin Coolidge as President, the United States became a party to the British pledge of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

It is not here appropriate to go into the history of the past 20 years, and all of the somewhat equivocal attitude that developed in the mandatory power as a result of the tragic incidents of the last decade, when the Arabs protested vigorously, and there came on the incidents which have more and more occasioned the world to consider that here was the possibility of a disturbance of the peace. But we have come down through to the episodes of the last year, when finally, after some 25 commissions and committees of various kinds had studied the situation, the United Nations were convened this last spring in special session at the request of Great Britain and asked to recommend a solution, which they have now done, with only two dissenting votes outside of the countries which had certain very strong prejudices regarding the appropriate solution, as the result of racial and religious views. So that, as the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] said, the giving of this mandate for the partition of Palestine may be considered the consensus of the opinion of mankind, although two-thirds of Palestine has been removed as the result of the creation of Transjordan.

In the past year the cause has been greatly served by the leadership of the world leader of Zionism, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, and it is under his leadership and wise statesmanship that this successful result has finally been brought to pass.

It is no time to speak of a certain schizophrenia that has apparently affected our State Department during the

various considerations of this question. It is enough that finally the goal desired has been achieved. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that while both great political parties in this country, in their last political platforms, adopted resolutions endorsing the Palestine solution, and while members of both political parties, including Senators on both sides of the aisle, have in repeated public utterances supported their own resolutions, it was not until Russia, to the amazement of everyone, a few short weeks ago became also a co-champion of the partition, that the result was finally achieved.

We were told during the past 2 or 3 years that the reason we must consider the solution of Palestine as a Jewish homeland was because the Russians were going to take advantage of Arab intransigence and would use the action of Britain or the United States regarding Palestine to the prejudice of world peace by stimulating Arab aggression. So it was to the amazement of everyone that Russia in the United Nations a few short weeks ago championed the partition solution. I shall not enter into a discussion of what may or may not have been her motives, whether she was primarily concerned with what seemed to be a just solution, or whether there were some more devious reasons, but at any rate her action destroyed for all time the idea that she was seeking to cultivate Arab national aspirations for the sake of securing interests in our oil concessions in these Arabian lands. I think it is well to bear that in mind as we go forward into consideration of this matter, realizing that this is the beginning, and not the end; that while we are here giving birth to what we trust will be a nation, its continuation will be achieved not only by the continued sacrifice and possibly suffering of those immediately concerned, but that the United Nations themselves, and the commission which they have created for the purpose, have now the tremendous responsibility of seeing that this infant nation shall have its proper nurture during the undoubtedly difficult days that so obviously lie ahead.

I think all the speeches here have appropriately pointed out that it is to be hoped that whatever may be the irresponsible acts of individuals or certain small collective groups in seeking to challenge this solution, that those responsible for the administration of the affairs of the nations which oppose this solution, some of them very old governments, and others comparatively new, that have been born within recent decades and admitted to the United Nations, shall demonstrate their recognition of world order and world democracy by yielding to the overwhelming opinion of mankind, and joining in the suppression of aggressive acts calculated to challenge a solution which has had so long, so sympathetic, and so conclusive a decision.

In that respect I think our own country has now to consider its course. We proposed originally that there should be created an international police force under the direction of the United Nations, although that was not contemplated within the terms of any of the discus-

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sions of the Charter, but that rather individual nations should contribute quotas to care for whatever responsibilities should arise. In the suggestion I now call to the attention of the Senate, I do not wish to imply any anticipation that there will be armed revolt on any major scale. It is my hope, my belief, that those concerned will respect this overwhelming decision, and that the two new nations which have now been born will be given their proper opportunity for becoming contributing members of the family of nations. But if such a distressing situation should arise, with the absolute refusal of Great Britain to assume responsibility further and its withdrawal of all its forces, the United States must realize that neither we, nor Russia, as the parties which have championed this solution, can avoid the responsibility that is appropriately ours, and I speak to this because, as the weeks and months pass by, if we shall be faced with a crisis in this situation we must be prepared then to act.

For that reason I call attention to what in my judgment should be the next question considered by the administration in the obvious challenge it may face, the question of whether or not we in America shall be prepared to contribute the indispensable elements essential to the preservation of the peace.

On that score it is a curious anomaly that those who have been most inhospitable to the Jew have been also most opposed to the idea of a homeland for the Jew in Palestine. Meanwhile, whether or not we shall have in the world the force necessary to implement the decision of the United Nations may be determined in no small measure by the action the United States shall take. The United Nations has taken this action, but unless it is supported by appropriate power to compel the acceptance of its decision, then the United Nations will demonstrate its absolute futility, and the United Nations will fall into innocuous desuetude like the League of Nations. I was privileged last week to hold sessions in the vast mausoleum costing \$60,000,000 on the shores of Lake Geneva standing as a solitary monument to the vain hopes of all mankind.

So I trust that we in this country will realize that we have set out hand to the plow. If the difficulty comes—and God forbid that it should—it seems to me that it is none too early for the United States to consider the action it shall take. I do not believe that the opinion of America would support the sending of our armed forces to Palestine to preserve order except on the basis which I shall now suggest, and that is that no man shall go there who is not a volunteer. I suggest that serious consideration be given without delay to the organization of a volunteer force not solely for this purpose but for any purpose for which it shall be required under the action of our Government and under the proper direction and request of the United Nations Security Council, to implement and preserve, in collaboration with other countries which shall be ready to take their share of responsibility, the action which we may be called upon to take.

To that end I ask that there be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a letter sent to the Secretary of State, Hon. George C. Marshall, by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America on August 8, 1947, in which, among other things, recommending action on Palestine, they make this proposal:

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish war veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish war veterans of the United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., August 8, 1947.
Gen. GEORGE C. MARSHALL,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL MARSHALL: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States, representing 600,000 American Jewish veterans who were proud to fight under your command in World War II, and the over 200,000 who fought in the American armies of World War I, respectfully recommend a course of action to alleviate the present intolerable situation in the Holy Land.

It is obvious that if forthright steps are not taken immediately, violence in Palestine will continue to mount until the rising tide of reprisals by the contending parties will have reached a volume that will gravely menace any attempt at peacemaking.

Under your able leadership our Government has already pointed out an avenue of solution for the problem through the action recently taken with respect to a state of war between the Netherlands and Indonesia. The successful action of the United States delegate to the United Nations Security Council in pressing a resolution that led to a suspension of armed conflict in Indonesia establishes a precedent which may well prove effective in the Palestine crisis.

We, therefore, fervently recommend that our Government pursue that precedent to the following extent:

1. That our delegate to the United Nations be instructed to have placed upon the agenda of the United Nations Security Council, for immediate action, a resolution requesting the United Nations to assume authority in the Holy Land dispute.

2. That the United Nations order the immediate withdrawal from Palestine of all British troops and police and substitute therefor United Nations personnel. Great Britain has not only proven herself unable to maintain the peace in Palestine, but her actions have incited continuing turmoil and bloodshed.

We are convinced that these two simple steps will facilitate the immediate cessation of hostilities and will serve as a logical preface to the definite and final solution of the entire problem by the United Nations.

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish War Veterans of the

United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

Said police force would be under the jurisdiction and direction of the United Nations. Participation of American veterans would, of course, be subject to the approval of our own Government and on the basis of existing laws.

We feel that the presence of a police force responsible only to the United Nations, instead of troops now answerable only to Great Britain—one of the disputant parties—suggests a course of action that can put an effective halt to further unnecessary killings on both sides.

The principles of the four freedoms, borrowed from the institutions upon which American democracy is founded, have been incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations. Historical precedent, as well as the basic precepts of human decency, require that the United States now take through the United Nations with respect to Palestine the action that has already been initiated in Indonesia—action that will bring peace to a distracted world. The Palestine problem is a challenge to the necessity for, and the effectiveness of, the United Nations. For the benefit of all freedom-loving peoples and the peace of the world, we appeal for your approval and immediate action on this proposal.

Respectfully yours,

MILTON H. RICHMAN,
National Commander.

Mr. BREWSTER. That proposal was the result of the proposal by the United States in the United Nations Assembly that an international police force should be recruited. There was no provision for it in the Charter and apparently little is likely to come of it.

That has been followed by a resolution adopted in St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States under the leadership of Col. Julius Klein, a veteran of the last war with a distinguished war record in the Pacific under General MacArthur, proposing again that the Jewish War Veterans of the United States were prepared themselves very actively to promote the organization of such a group in whatever way might be found feasible. It seems to me, as we realize the responsibilities which are ours, that we may appropriately consider their action, representing 800,000 veterans who have offered their lives on many fields, and their belief that there would be ample resources from which to recruit such a force to be available in the event of need.

In this resolution, adopted at St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment, October 15 to 19 of this year, it is recited:

If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations' acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PALESTINE

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, assembled together for its

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fifty-second annual encampment in St. Paul, Minn., October 15-19, 1947, as representatives of 800,000 veterans of the Jewish faith who fought in the wars of the United States, recognizing that we stand on the threshold of the realization of the aims, aspirations, dreams, and hopes of the Jewish people for the past 2,000 years of reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine;

And expressing in this conclave our solidarity with our brethren in Europe whose one hope for a new and stable existence is emigration to Palestine and with our brethren in Palestine whose efforts have resulted in the development of that country to the point where it is now ready for complete independence and statehood, and recognizing that our efforts can aid in the realization of the establishment of such a Jewish state, hereby direct our national executive committee to take such steps and make such representations to the appropriate authorities as will make most effective the following policies and principles which this convention now approves and for which it stands:

1. We urge the approval of the UNSCOP majority report, with such modifications as will insure viability of the Jewish state as a minimum measure of justice to those who have suffered the most.

2. We urge the immediate implementation of the said report and believe that such implementation demands the immediate withdrawal of all British troops and police forces from Palestine.

3. We approve wholeheartedly the action of the United States Government in endorsing the majority report of the UNSCOP and in offering assistance in the economic and financial problems which will arise in the implementation thereof.

4. If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

5. We condemn the current Arab threats of war and economic sanctions as reminiscent of Nazi tactics and as a direct violation and affront to the Charter of the United Nations, and we voice our confidence that the United Nations will withstand such intimidation and that the people of the world will realize these threats to be hollow and baseless.

6. In the interest of preserving order during the initial period of the establishment of such separate states in Palestine, we urge immediate recognition by the United Nations of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as the interim governing body of the Jewish state.

7. We urge the United States to announce immediately that upon a definite decision by the United Nations in support of the said majority report, that it, the United States, will assume its full share of responsibility for such economic, political, material and other aid as may be necessary under the circumstances.

8. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and the members of the United States delegation to the United Nations.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, my reason for calling attention to this is that I share the high hopes of all that whatever difficulties may arise will be of an incidental, fragmentary character, that there will be no action by any of

the countries in this area which have opposed the adoption of this report, and that they will not precipitate any collective incidents. I do not believe they will. I believe that calmer and cooler heads will prevail. But we cannot blind ourselves to the responsibility which has been assumed. I point out to the Senate and to the country that if such a situation arises and the United States is not prepared to act, then the only alternative is the prospect and probability that our fellow nation which has joined us in sponsoring this proposal may be prepared to act, and that the United States might find itself in a very unfortunate and very humble position if in the suppression of difficulties of any character we are obliged to allow the Soviet Nation to take over responsibility for the preservation of law and order in this entire area.

I am calling attention to this subject so that 1 month or 2 month or 4 months from today we may not be faced with another crisis proposal because there is difficulty in the Middle East and some action must be taken, requiring, perhaps, that American armed forces be sent there, when it is obvious that a volunteer force prepared for this purpose should be recruited now. In my judgment it can be done well within the law, so that the existing administration could have such a force ready. No man would be called upon to offer up his life in defense of this situation unless he had properly and voluntarily made an offer of that kind.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. At this late hour I do not wish to press a discussion with the distinguished Senator from Maine on this subject, because I think it could better wait for another day. However, the Senator is leaving me in doubt as to just what he is proposing as a means for enforcing the Palestine partition decision. Let me say incidentally that I am very much in favor of the decision which has been reached by the United Nations in regard to the partition of Palestine. The Senator leaves me in doubt as to whether or not he is suggesting that, if it becomes necessary to enforce that decision, it should be done by an armed force other than a United Nations police force. Am I to understand that the Senator is suggesting that there be raised a volunteer army in this country, of Americans, to be used in enforcing that decision? If so, under what flag would it fight.

Mr. BREWSTER. I do not know that the Senator has been present during all the time I have been speaking.

Mr. MORSE. I have been present every moment of the time the Senator has been speaking.

Mr. BREWSTER. Then evidently I did not make myself sufficiently clear.

As I pointed out, the original proposal of the United States was for the recruitment of an international police force under the Security Council.

Mr. MORSE. That proposal has not been adopted.

Mr. BREWSTER. No; it was dropped, because whether or not there was legal

authority for it within the Charter, there was certainly no contemplation of it. The entire contemplation of the Charter was that whatever force was used would be composed of quotas from various countries which would be contributed to operate as a united whole under the Security Council. It has been impossible to implement that proposal because of the apparent reluctance of Russia to agree upon the composition of the force.

Everyone says that he is in favor of the decision; but, if we favor the decision without being prepared to support it, we are doing a very vain thing. I do not believe that we could justify our action in giving birth to a child whom we immediately throw to the dogs.

I have not gone further than to say that if difficulty arises—which God forbid—the Commission and the Security Council must maintain order. It would be most unfortunate if the United States were to find itself in the position of not being able to assume whatever might be its proper share of the burden, because then we certainly could not challenge the action of Russia or any other eastern power in moving in. Therefore, we should give serious consideration to the question of how we can implement our action. For that purpose, I propose that a portion of our armed forces—not solely for this purpose, but for any purpose for which there might be a legitimate call by the United Nations—should be recruited on a volunteer basis, either from men now in the service or men who might later volunteer for such service. The analogy I suggest is that of the French Foreign Legion. It should be understood that such a volunteer force should be available for whatever purpose the President of the United States should find it proper and necessary to use it. To what extent there should be further legislative authorization, I am not clear. I do not speak on that point.

But, certainly, we should begin to give consideration to how we are to assume our share of responsibility.

Mr. MORSE. If the Senator will permit me, I think I now understand his point of view. I think he illustrates very clearly, at least to my satisfaction, the importance of this country's making clear to the members of the United Nations that there should be established at the earliest possible date a police force of the United Nations, because unless that is done I think there is grave danger that we shall be maneuvered into a position in which American boys under the American flag will be called upon to enforce some decision of the United Nations.

I do not agree with the Senator, if I understand him correctly, that I put myself into an indefensible position if I take the position, as I would take the position, that the American Army should not be used to enforce a decision of the United Nations except as a part of a United Nations police force. I think the nation members of that organization must be called upon to enforce the decisions of the organization. I do not think we should ever permit ourselves to be placed in a position in which, because a difficulty arose in Palestine, for example,

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the American Army would be used to enforce a United Nations decision. A volunteer force raised in this country, as I understood the suggestion of the Senator from Maine, would lead us into grave difficulties unless it were raised as a part of a yet to be agreed upon United Nations police force. A volunteer force of Americans fighting in Palestine, for example, under the American flag would necessarily carry with it the complete backing of the military might of the United States the moment the first shot was fired against our flag. Hence I urge extreme caution in this situation. I am for the enforcement of the decisions of the United Nations but by the joint action of a United Nations police force.

Mr. BREWSTER. The Senator has not understood my statement. I should like to make my position crystal clear. It is not my concept that an American Army, as the Senator terms it, ever could or ever should enter into this situation. I have repeatedly stated that it would be a question of the Security Council of the United Nations calling upon the Associated Powers for the creation of the force which was contemplated in the Charter. At that point, unless we have a force in being that we could appropriately contribute to that quota under proper arrangements, the problem would be a very difficult one. I am not prepared to take any of our boys who may have been secured either under the draft or, at the present time, under the volunteer system, and order them to such a service. It is my thought that there should be a particular force recruited, understanding that at some time they might be called upon for service of this character if the situation should demand and the Congress and the President, under their proper exercise of power, should so determine. The average man joining the American Army today or at any future time should not be faced with the possibility that he might be sent to such a foreign field. That is the point I am making, and for that purpose it seems to me to avoid exactly what the Senator from Oregon suggests. If 3 months from today we are confronted with a crisis, as we were in Greece, and suddenly the President says, "Russia is endeavoring to take over the whole Middle East. I must send a force there," we shall have to order American boys who have not been recruited or prepared for such service. That is my point.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator, because I think he is making a valuable contribution to the discussion of the Palestine issue, particularly in pointing out, as I think he has, the need of developing a police force within the United Nations so that it can enforce its own decisions.

Mr. BREWSTER. That is exactly the point I wished to make.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I appreciate the reference that was made earlier to the part which my late grandfather played in connection with a homeland for the Jews. This furnishes a personal reason for my satisfaction at the devel-

opment which has taken place in setting aside a place in Palestine which the Jews can think of as their own.

Another memory which gives this event special significance for me lies in the recollection which I have of the Jewish units which fought in Libya in 1942, in the desert, against the common enemy.

I desire to express my congratulation to Rabbi Silver, who has shown real statesmanship in leading this very complicated and arduous problem to such a successful outcome. I hope that it means that the Promised Land has been reached at last, and that it is the beginning of new happiness and more auspicious events for the Jewish people.

PURCHASE OF THE NATION'S WHEAT CROP OF 1947 AND 1948 TO COMBAT HIGH COST OF LIVING

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, one of the most important questions before the Nation is the increased cost of living. During the past summer there were several committees making an investigation of that question, and the President of the United States has recently given us a statement of his views as to what ought to be done.

On November 23 I prepared a press release outlining some of the views I had acquired and the conclusion to which I had come in the summer's investigation, and I ask unanimous consent to have that press release printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Purchase by the United States of all the remaining portion of the Nation's wheat crop of 1947 and also the wheat crop which will be harvested in 1948, as a security measure and as a check in spiralling prices was urged today by Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS, Republican of Utah.

Senator WATKINS is chairman of the Western Subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Economic Report, which recently has been holding hearings on the high cost of living in the Rocky Mountain and west coast areas. He made it clear that he was not speaking for the committee, but was expressing his own views.

Amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act to permit a 6-day workweek at straight-time pay, without time and a half for overtime is another feature of the 10-point emergency program to combat high prices, urged by Senator WATKINS.

"With an ideological and economic war raging between the leading nations of the world—a war which threatens to become a shooting war at any moment—and with starving millions of people in Europe and Asia depending on us for a part of their food supply, and with the additional factor of a short wheat crop already threatened and in prospect for 1948, it is high time," Senator WATKINS declared, "that security measures be adopted by this country to insure at least a minimum of food for our own people and our allies who are now in desperate need and depending on us.

"The time to save wheat is when we have it. We can't save next year's wheat crop now, but we can take steps in that direction. We dare not go into another season, threatening as it is, with a carry-over of only 80,000,000 bushels of wheat as we did for the current year. Prudence dictates that at least 50 percent of our needs for 1948 should be

held in reserve out of our present crop until such time at least as we can safely determine what next year's crop is likely to be. It will be far better, in my opinion," declared Senator WATKINS, "to tighten our belts now, if by so doing we can insure ourselves against possible tougher times next year. We can make that insurance more certain if we own the wheat.

"In this connection it should be kept in mind that Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson told the Economic Report Committee Friday that, 'Speaking of the next harvest, who among us here is willing to venture a guess as to how large or how small the harvest will be?' No doubt he had in mind the extreme drought at planting time in the winter Wheat Belt, and the possibility that after so many years of high production, the law of averages may well be against a normal crop next year.

"It should also be remembered that, historically, famines follow wars, and we should not disregard nature's warning signal—drought—which is already in evidence to an alarming degree.

"Wheat is a basic food influencing the price level of at least 50 percent of the total food consumed, as evidence before our subcommittee demonstrated.

"In the present emergency it is our strongest weapon against communism, more effective and more practical than atomic bombs. Why shouldn't the Government own and control it under the present short supply and world conditions?" Senator WATKINS urged.

"If the Government should purchase the wheat crop and allocate wheat when and where it is needed most, the necessity for an OPA in food lines would largely disappear. Also, there would be no need for additional laws regulating speculation. Purchase of the wheat crops by the Government is not a new idea. Canada and other countries have felt compelled to do it and in World War I we purchased most of 2 years' crops. We could use Canada's experience and our own experience in World War I as a guide.

"In taking over the wheat crops of 1947 and 1948, it is imperative that prices shall be high enough to bring a heavy production in 1948 and for this year's crop an average of market prices for the year should be paid. Resort may be had to a fair price committee determination, as was done in World War I.

"It would be necessary probably to adopt a system of allocations, if not actually ration other grains, so that wheat farmers would not plant them with the hope of getting higher prices than for wheat, thus cutting wheat production."

Briefly Senator WATKINS' emergency proposals are as follows:

1. Purchase of 1947 and 1948 wheat crops, giving Government control of their use.
2. Rationing of meat.
3. Increase production by increasing the workweek to 6 days, at straight-time pay. Buying power of workers will be increased by the extra day's pay and there will be additional goods to meet the increased buying power.
4. Intensify campaign for public cooperation in saving food and more selective and cautious buying of short commodities.
5. Use of substitutes such as soybean, potato, and rice flours in connection with wheat flour in the making of breads and pastries.
6. Speed up the construction of western reclamation projects, and specifically those projects which will bring into production additional lands suitable for the production of grains and fibers.
7. Adopt a policy of allocation of steel and coal.
8. Put export controls to work. Extend these where necessary.

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LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time, after consultation with the Speaker and the distinguished minority leader and other Members of the House, to discuss the program for the balance of the week and at least the forepart of next week, with particular reference to the so-called foreign interim aid bill. As probably most of us know, the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported the bill yesterday. It was formally introduced today. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs has obtained unanimous consent to have until midnight tonight to file the report on the bill. It is my understanding that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, acting for the committee, will ask the Committee on Rules to hold a hearing starting tomorrow morning to apply for a rule making the bill in order on the floor.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tomorrow night to file a rule on the bill H. R. 4604, the so-called foreign interim aid bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, if the rule is granted and filed tomorrow, then, of course, it would be in order to begin general debate on the bill on Thursday.

I have discussed with some of the members of the Rules Committee and some of the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee what time might be allotted for general debate on the measure. Of course, it is not within my province to determine what that time shall be. It was my idea, however, from what I have been able to discover regarding the intentions as to general debate, that it probably would continue for some 10 or 12 hours, and possibly longer. In any event, I express the hope that with the general debate starting Thursday morning the general debate be concluded this week. If concluded on Friday, then, of course, there would be no reason for a session on Saturday. If the general debate is concluded this week, it would then be possible to begin the reading of the bill for amendment on Monday morning.

As we all know, this is a matter of extreme importance and of great consequence to the country and to the world. There is much interest in the country about it. I commend the Committee on Foreign Affairs for the painstaking effort they have put forth in their consideration of the subject and the bill they reported. Certainly, it is a measure that should be thoroughly debated and carefully considered, to the end that the Congress and the country be as fully informed as possible regarding its contents and what it proposes to do.

As to the reading of the bill next week, it would be my idea that those Members desiring to speak under the 5-minute rule be given opportunity, within reasonable limits, to do so.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that having been announced as the prospect for the program as I see it, it occurs to me that the

business of the House and consideration of the measure might be expedited if we were to adjourn over tomorrow until Thursday and have the House meet on Thursday at 11 o'clock in order that more time would be available for formally considering the bill in general debate.

So, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock on Thursday next.

In that connection I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN], who had a special order for tomorrow, and about which I have talked with him.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN].

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection at all to the request of the gentleman from Indiana, but I requested this time because I was chairman of a subcommittee that visited 11 countries in Europe on the agricultural and food situation. Amongst those countries were Austria, France, and Italy. I thought it would be advisable and desirable for me to give the membership the benefit of our findings. If the leadership will assure me that I will get some time under general debate so that I can present the facts, I shall be very glad to yield my time set now for tomorrow.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I object to the unanimous-consent request of the gentleman from Indiana. I want to hear the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Well, Mr. Speaker, I have the floor. I would rather talk to the membership of the House when they begin consideration of the legislation than to make a speech here when only the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] would be present.

I hope the gentleman will not press his objection because I would rather speak when the bill is up.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold his objection for the moment?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I will, if we are given assurance that those opposed to the bill will be given some time in which to be heard. I know very well there are some Members of the House who do not intend to go along with this idea of giving everything away while our own people are not able to get the things they need, and I want some assurance that those who are opposed to this bill are going to have a chance to be heard.

Mr. HALLECK. The gentleman, of course, is entirely right in suggesting that those who are opposed to this bill should be heard. I might say, first of all, as I said originally that I discussed this matter with the gentleman from Minnesota. Speaking for myself and as an individual Member of the House I certainly want the benefit of his information and advice arising out of his experience and observations in the countries affected by this legislation.

Certainly I am sure those in charge of the time, particularly the chairman of the committee on this side, will see to

it that the gentleman from Minnesota is given time in general debate to tell the House his observations and give the membership such information as he has.

With reference to the suggestion of the gentleman from Michigan, I may say that I discussed with the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee the matter of time and the division of time. I have no way of knowing how many may be in the category referred to by the gentleman, and how many may be in some other category, but the chairman of the committee has assured me he will undertake to see to it that opportunity is given to those who have questions about the bill, or are opposed to all of it, or to parts of it, have time in general debate for the expression of their views.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, that is all very well but I have had some experience in these matters myself, not on the question of getting time for myself because I always get more time than I want and much more than the House wants me to have on many occasions, but my experience has demonstrated that if you rely on this kind of assurances you get just nowhere.

We all know that the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee is in favor of this bill and has always been in favor of this kind of legislation. The ranking minority member is in favor of this bill, and those who are opposed to it or to portions of it will get nothing at all unless we have something definite. If the gentleman can assure me that the gentleman from Minnesota is going to get at least half an hour—if that is enough—all well and good; otherwise I shall insist on my objection. If I am the only one to hear the gentleman from Minnesota that is the loss of the other Members, not mine.

Mr. HALLECK. I, of course, can make no definite commitment in the absence of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs as to the exact time the gentleman from Minnesota might be granted.

Mr. HOFFMAN. In other words, then, the gentleman is speaking without authority.

Mr. HALLECK. If the gentleman from Michigan insists upon his opposition then, of course, there is nothing for me to do about it. I have had but one objective, and that is to expedite action on the proposed legislation while, at the same time, making certain that the consideration of it is as complete and exhaustive as possible.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order set down for me for tomorrow, Wednesday, be vacated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

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The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. **ROGERS** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, is it in order to ask to speak for more than 1 minute at this time?

The **SPEAKER**. The Chair cannot entertain any request for more than 1 minute, but the Chair could be a little liberal if the minute were not too long.

Mrs. **ROGERS** of Massachusetts. The Chair is a very good timekeeper, I would say.

SHORTAGE OF OIL IN BOSTON, MASS.

Mrs. **ROGERS** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I was in Massachusetts last week, and I found actual hardship in the shortage of oil there. For instance, there is one group of buildings under Federal management. The manager of those buildings could not secure any oil with which to heat the buildings over the week end. There are a good many young soldiers and their wives and babies there. Babies especially need to be kept warm.

Mr. Speaker, I found very great resentment in the State because we have sent oil abroad. We are asked to do more for foreign countries in the way of oil and coal. The American people feel, however, that the United States should be kept warm before anything is sent to foreign countries.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the Members will find in their correspondence a good many letters from persons who feel that self-preservation, not charity, necessarily begins at home and that the people at home should be given the comforts of life and not become weakened and they should not suffer because they are cold.

Mr. Speaker, I have conferred with the Secretary of the Navy, and I have offered a resolution to man the idle tankers with Navy seamen and officers in order that oil may be brought from Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, and other countries.

An administration that has allowed this situation to arise in the United States should be severely censured. Various departments of our Government have known what is going on. They have known that there is a shortage of oil in the United States. This shortage is not confined to Massachusetts alone, as I understand it. Yet nothing has been done about it. Thousands and thousands of barrels of oil have been sent to Russia—Russia, a country which is hostile to the United States and which opposes all our ideals and way of life.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to use all the influence that I have to see that the Congress of the United States does something to remedy the mistakes of the present administration in this matter. My resolutions are as follows:

House Resolution 381

Resolved, That the United States Maritime Commission be requested to furnish the House of Representatives full information in their possession relative to all idle tankers under their control and why said tankers have not been put into operation.

House Resolution 382

Resolved, That the Director of the Office of Defense Transportation be requested to furnish the House of Representatives full in-

formation in his possession concerning the shortage of coal cars used in transportation of coal to New England and whether coal cars being released from the Great Lakes terminals can be assigned to New England.

House Resolution 383

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be requested to furnish the House of Representatives full information in their possession relative to tankers under their control used in the transportation of oil whether full use is being made of the tankers and how soon additional tankers being received from the United States Maritime Commission will be put into operation.

House Resolution 385

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be requested to furnish the House of Representatives full information in his possession concerning the amount of fuel oil, gasoline, petroleum products, and coal in the United States and whether any steps should be taken to increase these commodities in order to have a proper and necessary amount.

Mr. Speaker, I remember well the battle I waged when the United States made ships available to Japan and my protests against the large shipments of oil, cotton, and scrap iron to Japan when it was obvious that Japan might use those ships and oil and other commodities against the United States. Secretary Ickes protested along that line. History is repeating itself this time with another country.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. **BUFFETT** asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two instances and include some editorial matter.

Mr. **LEMKE** asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article on Alaska.

Mr. **SANBORN** asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

Mr. **SMITH** of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two instances and include extraneous matter.

Mr. **MUNDT** asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a newspaper commentary on the activities of the Communist clique in Hollywood.

Mr. **EDWIN ARTHUR HALL** asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a recent radio address he made.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. **JAVITS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

PALESTINE

Mr. **JAVITS**. Mr. Speaker, now that the conscience of the world, organized in the United Nations, has decreed the partition of Palestine, we have a right to expect Britain to support the United Nations by making an orderly turn-over of Palestine to the Partition Commission appointed by the General Assembly. Her refusal will lead to another Munich. British weakness in foreign affairs will pay off in Palestine as it paid off at

Munich—in further deterioration of her position in the world.

If Britain persists in an obstinate course, she will alienate the United Nations which cast a decisive vote for partition; she will further alienate Palestine's Jews, and she will earn Arab hatred—not friendship—because she is weak. This is a day when Britain needs all her friends, a day when she must realize that her future lies more and more with the United Nations, with whose success she is likely, indeed, to be indissolubly linked.

Britain should be seeking to introduce democracy and well-being for the people of the Middle East, and should not play the old imperialist game. The great democratic tradition of Britain could inspire and impress the whole Middle East at this time if she would proceed in the spirit not of rancor, but of world statesmanship. The Tommies—the people of Britain—fraternizing with the people of Tel Aviv will prove to be much smarter than the British Foreign Office.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. **EDWIN ARTHUR HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE IN DEVASTATED COUNTRIES

Mr. **EDWIN ARTHUR HALL**. Mr. Speaker, there is certainly no Member of this House more anxious than I am to extend the help of American food, clothing and other vital necessities to those of the downtrodden and hungry throughout the world. We Americans must aid the unfortunate to get on their feet, and to enable them to be self-sustaining with respect to food. Therefore, I am introducing a bill today which provides for the services of from 100 to 500 county agricultural and home demonstration agents in the European field. It is entitled: "A bill to provide for the rehabilitation of foreign countries being financed with American aid by making available to them the services of American county agricultural and home demonstration agents and for other purposes."

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of Agriculture shall select not less than 100 and not more than 500 county agricultural and home demonstration agents wherever available throughout the United States for immediate voluntary service in countries devastated by the recent war and being financed by American aid.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall assign said agents to duty along the following general lines:

- (a) To scrutinize, study, and observe agricultural activities in the aforementioned areas.
- (b) To work along with departments of agriculture in the official governments of these nations in advisory capacities.
- (c) To make available to them their services, advice, and knowledge to individual farmers to the end that their production of grains and foodstuffs be increased to adequately feed their entire populations.
- (d) To encourage the improvement of farming and husbandry wherever necessary.

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(e) To foster the inherent desire on the part of the farmers of said countries to be self-sustaining and raise sufficient food crops to make their populations eventually independent of outside aid.

(f) To introduce and improve the arts of homemaking, cooking, dressmaking, and allied subjects.

SEC. 3. For the purposes of carrying out the work of said agents, there shall be made available funds from whatever appropriations are made by the Congress for official United States aid to Europe.

SEC. 4. Wherever localities in the United States have been deprived of services of said agents, vacancies shall be filled forthwith by regular authority so as not to impede or hamper agricultural extension work in the United States.

I hope that we will be able to devise some plan like this whereby the millions of helpless people across the seas will have the advantage of making themselves independent through American aid and American genius.

Any plan this Congress adopts to finance aid to Europe and Asia must, it seems to me, consider as its ultimate goal, lifting the recipients out of a relief class in which so many have been since the war.

Put farmers over across on their feet by material help accompanied by real advice, instruction and education which the county agents are capable of giving. They will remedy this tragic situation in a short time if they get the cooperation of our government and of those they are designated to assist.

This plan is worth a try. It cannot possibly cost more than a tiny percent of the whole aid expenditure and it is bound to work over there just as American agriculture has profited by it.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DOLLIVER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

Mr. CHURCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject Pardon Me, Truman, and include two editorials, one from the Washington Post of last Sunday and one from the Chicago Daily Tribune.

Mr. McDONOUGH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a radio address he delivered during the recess.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

"TRU" OR FALSE"

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, President Truman on June 20 last in his veto message on the Taft-Hartley labor bill said, "Its provisions would cause more strikes, not fewer."

Is this true or false? This is more than a \$64 question to every American.

Let us look at the record. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, there were in the months of September and

October of 1946, 1,015 new strikes, involving 663,000 workers, resulting in 11,100,000 idle man-days.

For the same period, September and October of 1947—after the Taft-Hartley bill—there were only 375 new strikes, involving 135,000 workers, resulting in 3,850,000 idle man-days.

In other words, after the Taft-Hartley bill there were roughly only one-third the number of strikes, one-fifth the number of men on strike, and only one-third the number of man-days lost, as compared with the same period a year ago and before the Taft-Hartley bill.

Which should inspire the confidence of the American people, President Truman or the Republican-led Congress of the United States?

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

CONGRESS SHOULD DEFINE COMMUNISM

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the time has come for definite action by the Congress to legally define communism in clear, concise terms.

It is generally admitted that communism advocates the overthrow of—the modification of—democratic government established by the free will of the people and especially the overthrow of constitutional democracy as we know it in the United States. Is it not therefore logical to assume that the active practice of communism is treasonable and therefore unconstitutional?

I have introduced H. R. 4581 for the purpose of establishing a clear definition of communism that can be easily understood. My bill does not deny the privilege of nor penalize anyone for believing in any ism he pleases. In other words, there is no attempt to set up a policy of thought control. No man can be penalized for his thoughts or beliefs in the United States.

It is only when he puts his beliefs into active practice and thereby by precept and example conspires with and influences others to follow him in the active practice of communism that an overt act is committed. This is a fine distinction between other types of proposed legislation against communism, and I do not want it construed or misunderstood. H. R. 4581 condemns and penalizes only the active practice of and not the belief in communism or any other kind of ism.

Heretofore there has been no clear definition of communism, and because of this many people have sympathized with communism and have become influenced to believe in it. Communism, as a political policy, or as a way of life, is inimical to the people of the United States and incompatible with our form of government. It advocates deceit, conspiracy,

confusion, subversion, revolution, and the subordination of man to the state. It is not a political party but is an international conspiracy and an antireligious ideology that would destroy the purposes of the American Government as set forth in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

It is time the Congress recognizes the truth about communism and sets forth a clear definition of it for the protection of the people of the United States.

Newspapers editorialize about communism, men in public life are attacked as adherents to communistic philosophies, but in spite of all these discussions few people can define communism or give any coherent explanation of their understanding of what it is.

Informed Americans know that a Communist menace does exist in the United States, a dangerous force which threatens our future. There is evidence proving that an organized attempt is being made to establish communistic methods, policies, and political ideologies within this Nation. The number of workers in this movement who understand its true purpose may be few. But unfortunately, they are highly trained men and women, so subtle in their methods that they enlist the active aid of thousands of loyal Americans who are sympathetic and are misled by deliberate confusing of issues, subversion of facts, and deceit.

Americanism and communism cannot mix. Democracy and communism are incompatible. Freedom and liberty as we know them cannot tolerate communism. We must be vigilant and alert to the wiles and insidious influences it is attempting to inflict upon us.

We must take steps to protect the innocent and expose the guilty. We do not want to brand loyal Americans, misguided though they may be, with the label of communism when they are not engaged in the active practice of communism and have no sincere intention of furthering the cause of communism.

We must seek out the Communists who burrow from within to destroy everything we cherish—freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of enterprise, and freedom of the press.

We want to expose them, reveal them as enemies of the United States, and deal with them accordingly. But first we must define communism. Without a legal definition of that term, our law-enforcement agencies are helpless, in many cases, and even the courts are at a loss to act with conviction.

Recently the United States circuit court of appeals in Illinois was called upon to decide a case in which the defendant was accused of libeling the plaintiff through the use of the term "Communist," applied to the plaintiff in a syndicated column of political commentary written by the defendant. A district court dismissed the suit on the ground that no cause for action had been established since the word "communism" had no definite meaning.

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The United States circuit court of appeals reversed the prior ruling, and ordered the case to trial, stating:

It is libelous per se (of itself) to write of a man or corporation that they are Communists or communistic sympathizers.

It continued:

The label of Communist today in the minds of many average and respectable persons places the accused beyond the pale of respectability and makes him a symbol of public hatred, contrary to the statutes.

During the arguments before the court of appeals in this case, it was definitely established that the word "Communist" has no definite meaning, but that its appearance as a characterization in a newspaper political editorial is sufficient to destroy a person's presumably good reputation with the public.

Communism does not lead to liberal policies in government or to liberal legislation. On the contrary, communism does lead to and advocates a totalitarian form of government and subordinates man to the state.

There is every facility and opportunity under our constitutional form of government in the Republic of the United States to bring about the most liberal policies in government, if we use them properly.

Communism is restrictive, limited, autocratic, and totalitarian.

Democracy is elastic, adjustable, and subject to the will and needs of the people.

Let us use the freedoms and liberties we now possess in our constitutional democratic form of government in the United States to preserve and protect those liberties and freedoms from the corruptive and destructive influences of communism.

Communism crawls through this Nation with the subtlety of the serpent, bent upon the destruction of all religion, the abolition of all private property, and the complete subordination of the individual to the state. Its weapons are deceit, conspiracy, confusion, propaganda, and revolution. Its goal is the overthrow of democratic government, by force and violence if necessary.

It is obvious that an untenable situation exists. We can correct it by passing legislation that will clearly define the term "communism." At the same time we will take constructive action toward the elimination of the Communist menace. I have introduced H. R. 4581 for the purpose of defining communism. It reads as follows:

Whereas communism as a political policy, or as a way of life, is inimical to the people of the United States; and

Whereas communism advocates deceit, conspiracy, confusion, subversion, revolution, and the subordination of man to the state, and because of its practice of deceit and confusion, its real purposes and intentions are clouded and misunderstood to the extent that many persons in the United States have been influenced to believe in and sympathize with communism; and

Whereas there is a pressing need for a clear and easily understandable definition of communism in order to protect the people of the United States from its insidious influence:

Therefore

Be it enacted, etc., That communism be defined and declared to be not a political policy, but is an international conspiracy and

an atheistic and an antireligious ideology which advocates and practices deceit, confusion, subversion, revolution, and the subordination of man to the state, and which has for its purposes and intentions the overthrow of any democratic or other form of government by force and violence, if necessary; and

That any person, either citizen or alien in the United States, actively practicing communism should be exposed and treated as a treasonable enemy of the United States and dealt with accordingly.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[Mr. CRAWFORD addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

PARTITION OF PALESTINE

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday afternoon the general assembly of the United Nations achieved a notable triumph for justice and democracy when the delegates voted to partition Palestine and to set up a new national government there for the Jews who have, in the sweat of their brows, in the labor of their hands, and in danger of their lives, made the desert again a land of milk and honey.

But, Mr. Speaker, that vote was also a personal triumph for President Harry S. Truman, whom I am proud to call my leader, and in behalf of the Jewish community of America I am glad to be able to pay this tribute to our President, a great leader, a great humanitarian, and a great American.

There can be no doubt that the successful fight of the American delegation was made at the personal direction of President Truman, and over the opposition of some officials in our own State Department as well as those in the British foreign and colonial offices.

For 1900 years, since the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and drove the Jews from the land of their fathers, the Jews have been a scattered nation. Always their eyes have turned toward the Holy Land as a national home. Under the League of Nations mandate hopes rose high, but Great Britain repudiated her promises.

Since Hitler the dream of a national home has become a grim and absolute necessity for a land in which the pitiful remnants of European Jewry can rebuild their shattered lives; and now, more than any other individual, President Truman has opened the door of opportunity through the action of the United Nations.

I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that neither the world Jewish community nor fair and honorable people anywhere will ever lack in gratitude to Harry S. Truman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CRAWFORD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include part of a program for action adopted by the National Foreign Trade Convention.

Mr. RIVERS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address on sea power delivered by Col. J. H. Fellows, of the Marine Corps.

Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

THE NEEDS OF AMERICA

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Member from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] was telling us that she intended to insist that we keep some gasoline and oil and, I believe, a few other things here in America. I wonder if she has realized that you cannot burn here in America the same barrel of gasoline you send abroad. I have noted with a great deal of interest that she has always been very enthusiastically in support of legislation which would help the people in other lands. She is to be commended for that spirit of kindness and I join with her in that desire to help everyone who needs aid. But I just cannot figure out how we can send abroad so much and maintain our strength and power here at home. How is she going to use that same gallon of gasoline over there and in this country at the same time? I do not see how you can carry on that kind of a program of supporting the whole world and still have enough left to maintain our own security. I have been brought to this inquiry by the fact that 40 veterans in Benton Harbor, Mich., in the Fourth Congressional District, are able to build their own homes by cooperative efforts, exchanging work if they can get cement. They cannot get the cement which is going abroad. It cannot be shipped abroad to build bridges and at the same time be used to build homes in Michigan. I hope the gentlewoman, when she discovers how we can use something in two places at the same time, will put me wise because those veterans want to build homes. They insist that they should get the cement and other materials before we send it abroad. With them I agree even though I may be accused of being an "American Firster."

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

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ABANDONMENT OF FOOT-AND-MOUTH
DISEASE PROGRAM IN MEXICO

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that the program for stamping out the foot-and-mouth disease in Mexico has been practically abandoned.

Through releases issued by the Department of Agriculture during the past few months, Members of Congress were led to believe that the vital work of eradication was proceeding properly. We find, however, that Congress has been misled by the officials of the Department of Agriculture and that the program has not been at all effective for the past few months.

I cannot support the program now proposed to spend millions of dollars in Mexico for a vaccination program. According to veterinarians, who certainly know, vaccination is but a palliative and cannot possibly do the job that must be done. The only manner in which the foot-and-mouth disease can be stamped out is through the destruction and burial of the animals exposed to that dread disease. It would seem that the time has come for Congress to protect the border, 1,905 miles in length, between the United States and Mexico insofar as it is possible to do so. This will require the construction of high wire fences protecting the area on our side of the border, as well as that on the Mexican border, and beyond which no cloven hoofed animal should be permitted to exist. The fences on both borders should be efficiently patrolled so that no diseased stray could enter the United States from Mexico.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this problem is as critical as any problem facing us today. This Nation certainly cannot afford to permit the spread of this dread disease into our great meat industry.

tion of St. Paul, were summoned to an emergency meeting at the Sherman Hotel in Chicago today of the joint livestock committee to consider steps to meet the crisis.

The two Governments have dropped their campaign to eradicate the livestock sickness by exterminating infected and exposed animals, and have just disclosed a shift to a fight to keep the dread disease within a quarantine zone. But this zone is so vast that the difficulties of hemming in and controlling the livestock plague in this way have spread consternation among American stockmen.

These men say that if the malady ever should get really loose in this country, it might destroy in present form the industry of feeding concentrations of livestock, and inflict disastrous losses and changes on all agriculture.

One high-ranking Washington official told the Pioneer Press by phone Saturday night that about 100 American veterinarians and sanitary engineers working in Mexico have been protected by the Mexican Army, that no American has been harmed though several Mexicans have been killed, and that there are no grounds known to him for concern for the safety of any American.

But others who have been following events in the Mexican quarantine zone, while not alarmed, did frankly acknowledge concern over possible consequences of Mexican popular indignation in some places. A Mexican coworker of one Minnesota veterinarian was reported to have been mobbed and killed by Mexican peons on one day when the Minnesotan happened to be ill and absent, and therefore safe.

A Mexican veterinarian and a Mexican Army officer and five soldiers were set upon several weeks ago by a mob of several hundred, were shot and their bodies mutilated in an uprising near San Guto in northeastern Michoatan.

According to reports, the lucky Minnesotan was Dr. D. F. Werring, of Springfield, although this was not officially confirmed.

The anger of the Mexicans has flared often because the cattle serve as sources of food, draft animals, and pets to the peasant families. These were aroused by bitter harangues by the politicians.

The United States Government experts finally became persuaded that the disease had had too great a start, and eradication attempts were inflicting too heavy economic losses, and arousing too much resentment to succeed.

In addition to Dr. Werring, four other Minnesota veterinarians who are in Mexico for the United States Government's part in the campaign are Dr. H. E. Wilson, of Crookston; Dr. E. H. Braunworth, of Wheaton; Dr. Aaron Antoinen, of Ortonville; and Dr. W. H. Whitcomb, of Reeds Landing. Four Minnesota sanitary engineers also have been working there.

Probably two-thirds of 60 to 70 American veterinarians are likely to be brought home soon, but the sanitary engineers may be asked to remain for some time in the fight to stamp out any new outbreaks outside the quarantine area.

Dropping of the fight to wipe out the disease in Mexico is the latest defeat suffered in nearly 2 years' of a losing effort by the United States Government, although at times Washington officials made hopeful claims. About a year of that time was taken up in protests to Mexico over her admission of exposed Zebu bulls from Brazil, and another 3 months were consumed in writing and enacting congressional legislation. So it wasn't until last April that the campaign really got under way.

Thirty million dollars had been spent in exterminating half a million cattle, including the finest dairy herd in Mexico, and perhaps 300,000 smaller animals.

The changes and losses that would be forced upon the American livestock industry

by a sweep of the disease across North America are not even imagined by most Americans, Mr. Carnes said Saturday night before leaving for Chicago. The losses might run into the billions of dollars a year, and estimates of increases in production costs run up to 20 percent, he said. The livestock exchanges of the country, including the South St. Paul Exchange are represented on the joint livestock committee.

Collapse of the eradication campaign is taken by stockmen to mean that this country will be compelled in self defense to adopt stringent controls of movements across the border of freight, tourists, and traffic that might bring in the disease from Mexico.

Construction of a tight-mesh fence, 7 feet high, along 2,000 miles of the Mexican border at a cost of around \$6,000,000, long discussed, now will become among the essential steps to keep diseased domestic and game animals of Mexico strictly out of this country, stockmen assert.

The danger area of Mexico, stretching westward into the interior from the Gulf coast, extends north along the coast near Tampico to a point only 300 miles from the American border at the nearest point.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. NORBLAD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks and include two paragraphs from a statement made by Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Sr.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE
PALESTINE FIASCO

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, it is evident to every thinking American that the members of the so-called United Nations Organization desire to subordinate the United States to their domination.

If they have a right to go into a country like Palestine and dismember it, then they will probably claim the right to turn Texas and California back to Mexico, Louisiana back to France, and the Panama Canal back to Colombia.

I wonder how far these international moon gazers are going in their attempts to drag the United States down to the level of Italy, China, India, or Russia.

It is about time that Americans began to be heard, from one end of the country to the other. There is going to be such a wave of resentment against this surrendering of the powers of government to foreign influences that the Members of this Congress will never hear the last of it.

With reference to this subject of Palestine, I want to quote from the autobiography of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., one of the great Jews of this country and the brains of the Morgenthau family. He said:

Zionism is the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle and impossible of realization; that it is unsound in its economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals. Where it is not pathetically visionary, it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of

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age-long miseries. These are bold and sweeping assertions, but in this chapter I shall undertake to make them good.

The very fervor of my feeling for the oppressed of every race and every land, especially for the Jews, those of my own blood and faith, to whom I am bound by every tender tie, impels me to fight with all the greater force, against this scheme, which my intelligence tells me can only lead them deeper into the mire of the past, while it professes to be leading them to the heights.

Zionism is a surrender, not a solution. It is a retrogression into the blackest error, and not progress toward the light. I will go further, and say that it is a betrayal; it is an eastern European proposal, fathered in this country by American Jews, which, if it were to succeed, would cost the Jews of America most that they have gained of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

That is from one of the most patriotic Jews America has ever seen, warning the world against the stupendous fallacy into which this bunch of moon-gazers in New York have now plunged.

The next thing we hear will probably be a demand that America send soldiers to protect this new state.

The United Nations have thus waved a red flag in the face of every Arab, in the face of 500,000,000 Moslems, people who were our friends, and have turned them against the American people—because this whole thing is being charged against the United States.

This crazy program is being supported by certain alleged leaders of both parties in order to try to line up certain elements in New York in the next election.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] has expired.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

PALESTINE

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, after listening to the remarks of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN], I feel that I should say that when it comes to the subject he just discussed and in referring to American Jews as he does, he is as expertly misinformed as he usually is.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—GOVERNMENT-OWNED VESSELS (H. DOC. NO. 468)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read by the Clerk and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

The present authority of the United States Maritime Commission to operate, sell, and charter Government-owned vessels which were built during the war will expire on February 29, 1948.

It is now clearly apparent that this authority must be continued beyond that

date in order to prevent a break-down in vital shipping services.

Over 1,200 dry-cargo vessels are now chartered to American citizens by the Commission. The bulk of this fleet is devoted to carrying vital relief cargo, chiefly coal and grain exports. Its continued operation will be essential in furnishing aid to foreign countries during this winter. Other portions of this chartered fleet are devoted to essential coast-wise and intercoastal services.

Under its authority to operate vessels, the Maritime Commission, through general agents, is now operating emergency passenger vessels and tankers. It is necessary to continue the authority for the operation of these passenger vessels if we are to meet essential needs for which no other passenger service is available. While the number of tankers operated by the Commission is being steadily reduced as tankers are sold under the Ship Sales Act, those which remain unsold must be kept in operation to assist in averting a serious world-wide shortage of petroleum.

In order to avoid needless disruption of the vital services now being provided with Government-owned ships, the present authority of the Maritime Commission should be renewed well in advance of its expiration date. I recommend, therefore, that the Congress give consideration to this matter during its present session.

There are other questions concerning the maritime industry which will require consideration of new legislation in the near future. These questions relate to the shipping requirements of the European recovery program and the long-range requirements of our own merchant marine. Our most immediate need, however, is to assure the maintenance of essential shipping services by continuing in effect the present provisions of law which make possible the use of Government-owned ships.

Accordingly, I recommend that these provisions of law be extended until June 30, 1949.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, December 1, 1947.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. KNUTSON (at the request of Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN), on account of illness in the family.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—REPORT OF GOVERNOR OF THE PANAMA CANAL

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read by the Clerk and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In compliance with the provisions of Public Law 280, Seventy-ninth Congress approved December 28, 1945, I transmit herewith a report by the Governor of the Panama Canal on means of increasing the capacity and security of the Panama Canal.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, December 1, 1947.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. Under the previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] is recognized for 76 minutes.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and twenty-nine Members are present, not a quorum.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I make a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 139]

Allen, Ill.	Gore	Philbin
Barden	Griffiths	Powell
Bland	Hardy	Price, Fla.
Blatnik	Hartley	Reed, N. Y.
Bloom	Heffernan	Rees
Buckley	Hendricks	Rich
Bulwinkle	Jennings	Sabath
Byrne, N. Y.	Kefauver	Scoblick
Case, S. Dak.	King	Scrivner
Celler	Kirwan	Sheppard
Clark	Knutson	Simpson, Pa.
Clements	Lane	Smathers
Cooley	Lewis	Smith, Ohio
Cooper	Lucas	Smith, Va.
Coudert	Ludlow	Stratton
Dawson, Ill.	McCowen	Thomas, N. J.
Dingell	Marcantonio	Vorys
Domengeaux	Meade, Ky.	Vursell
Dorn	Mitchell	Wadsworth
Doughton	Morgan	West
Durham	Morrison	Whittington
Flannagan	Multer	Wigglesworth
Fogarty	Norrell	Wilson, Ind.
Fulton	Pfeifer	Wilson, Tex.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JENKINS of Ohio). On this roll call 359 Members have answered to their names; a quorum is present.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

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